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OF

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FOUR VOLUMES IN TWO.

31316

MEMOIRS

OF

THE REIGN OF
GEORGE III.

TO

THE SESSION OF PARLIAMENT
ENDING A.D. 1793.

*BY W.*illiam *BELSHAM.*

VOL. I.

THIRD EDITION.

> Beneficio quàm metu obligare homines malit; exteraſque gentes fide ac
> ſocietate junctas habere, quàm triſti ſubjectas ſervitio.
>
> LIV. lib. 26.

DUBLIN:
PRINTED FOR J. MILLIKEN, NO. 32, GRAFTON-STREET.
1796.

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K. GEORGE III.

IN tracing the long ſeries of royal deſcents which has taken place in this Iſland ſince the foundation of the Engliſh Monarchy, it will be difficult, perhaps impoſſible, to name any Prince who has ſucceeded to the Crown under circumſtances of greater and more ſignal advantage than the preſent ſovereign. At the head of a firm, vigilant and popular Adminiſtration, was placed a miniſter illuſtrious by the ſplendor of his talents, and the magnanimity of his conduct; under whoſe ſuperior aſcendent, party ſpirit and parliamentary oppoſition ſeemed extinguiſhed. Great Britain, in conjunction with her numerous colonies and dependencies, exhibited to the world a grand political aſſociation, actuated by one common intereſt, and united, amidſt a thouſand ſubordinate diverſities of opinion, in the ſacred bonds of duty and affection. That fatal predilection for the claims of the exiled Houſe of Stuart, formerly ſo prevalent, and which had rendered the taſk of Government ſo difficult in the preceding reigns, was now no more. Notwithſtanding the long continuance of a foreign war, the moſt complicated and extenſive in which Great Britain had ever been engaged, the internal ſtate of the Kingdom was not only perfectly tranquil, but in the higheſt degree flouriſhing and proſperous. The vaſt increaſe of commerce and manufactures enabled her to ſupport the immenſe expence incurred in the proſecution of it, with a facility, and even an alacrity, altogether unprecedented and aſtoniſhing; and her more recent operations had in every part of the globe been attended with the moſt brilliant and faſcinating ſucceſs. As to the new Monarch himſelf, though his character was far from being as yet perfectly developed, a very ſtrong and apparently juſt partiality predominated in his favor. During the late reign he had uniformly abſtained from all public interference in the affairs of Government. His manners were in the higheſt degree decorous, his morals unblemiſhed, and his perſonal accompliſhments correſponded with the elevation of his rank and ſtation. All appearances ſeemed to augur a reign of uninterrupted glory and felicity; and the regret, which the Nation for a moment felt at the ſudden demiſe of the good old King, was immediately abſorbed in the tranſports of joy excited by the auſpicious commencement of the reign of the young Monarch, who had very lately attained the age of complete majority; being born June 4, 1738. It muſt however be acknowledged that certain circumſtances exiſted, which in the minds of perſons of deeper reflection occaſioned ſuſpicions and apprehenſions, not perfectly according with the feelings of the national enthuſiaſm. Throughout almoſt the whole courſe of the late reign, the Prince of Wales, father of the preſent King, from various cauſes of jealouſy and diſcontent too eaſily ariſing from the doubtful and difficult ſituation of an Heir apparent, had been in direct and avowed oppoſition to the Court. So far as the means of judging are afforded us, the Prince in his general ſyſtem of policy ſeems to have been diſtinguiſhed by the rectitude of his intention, the generoſity and ingenuouſneſs of his conduct. He was deſirous to govern the Engliſh Nation upon maxims truly Engliſh, and was fired with the noble ambition of realizing in his own perſon that grand and perfect model of A PATRIOT KING, delineated by the happieſt effort of a tranſcendent genius. In conſequence however of the coalition of the Whigs, which took place after the reſignation of Sir

Robert Walpole, the Prince, whoſe reconciliation with the Court proved of tranſient duration, was left entirely in the hands of the Tories, now affecting to ſtyle themſelves the "Country Party;" or, if the ancient nominal diſtinction was ever retained—REVOLUTION TORIES. The leaders of this party alleged with too much reaſon, that the Whigs, engroſſing, as was notorious, the executive offices of the State with little intermiſſion ſince the Revolution, and without any interval whatever ſince the acceſſion of the Houſe of Hanover, had introduced maxims of government totally inconſiſtent with the true intereſts of the nation. They had involved Great Britain as a principal in all the contentions, and quarrels, of the Continent; they had pretended a neceſſity for ſupporting a political balance of power, which was never proved to be in danger; and under this pretext they had made England ſubſervient to ſchemes of Hanoverian, of Auſtrian, of Pruſſian aggrandizement. In the proſecution of their wild and pernicious plans they had contracted an immenſe debt, the intereſt of which was diſcharged by taxes the moſt odious and oppreſſive. This debt had rapidly and alarmingly accumulated; and as no ſerious or permanent meaſures had been adopted for it eventual liquidation, the nation was menaced with the hideous proſpect of a general bankruptcy. In addition to the enormous ſums raiſed upon the public, and mortgaged for the payment of the national creditors, the remaining branches of the revenue were appropriated to the maintaining a formidable army under the ſole command of the Crown, by which the liberty of the Country and the very exiſtence of the Conſtitution were expoſed to imminent and habitual danger. They affirmed, that a ſyſtem of corruption had been eſtabliſhed in conſequence of the vaſt increaſe of Miniſterial and Regal influence—that a very large proportion of the King's ſubjects had been long expoſed to a ſtate of political proſcription, though chargeable with no diſaffection to the preſent Government excepting what unavoidably aroſe from this injurious treatment. The Prince of Wales had deeply imbibed theſe ideas, and was laudably ſolicitous to extend the protection of Government to all who had not by culpable miſconduct forfeited their claim to it, without any diſtinction of party; convinced that thoſe who fulfilled the duties, were entitled to the privileges, of good citizens and ſubjects. It may however be juſtly queſtioned whether the moſt eminent and reſpectable individuals of the Tory or country Party—a Wyndham—a Shippen—or a Carew, ever attained to thoſe clear conceptions of government and to the perfect and cordial adoption of thoſe wiſe and beneficent maxims of policy which characterized the moſt virtuous and enlightened of the Whigs. The grand defect in the general theory of theſe patriots, who in many reſpects deſerved ſo highly the eſteem and gratitude of their country, was their erroneous and imperfect ideas of the nature of toleration. Devotedly attached to the ESTABLISHED CHURCH, they conſidered a diſſent from it as a ſpecies of dangerous delinquency, or at leaſt of culpable contumacy, permitted indeed by the indulgence of the law, but by no means founded on any immutable claim of equity or juſtice. And they were unhappily of an opinion recently revived, and enforced with all the art of ſophiſtical malignity, that a Sectary is a Citizen *partially diſaffected to the Conſtitution*, including the twofold diſtinction of Church and State; not conſidering that the Church, as a civil inſtitution, is the mere creation of the ſtate, and exiſts only by its ſovereign will—that a voluntary option therefore of aſſent or diſſent is allowed, and under a free Conſtitution cannot but be allowed, to every citizen pleading the inviolable claims of conſcience. In diſſenting from the Church, a right is exerciſed which is recognized by the Conſtitution, and which it muſt therefore be a complication of folly and injuſtice to brand as a proof of diſaffection to the Conſtitution. It does not however appear that the Prince of Wales was himſelf in any degree tainted with theſe miſerable prejudices; and during the lifetime of the Prince, there is good reaſon to believe that great and inceſſant pains were taken to infuſe into the minds of his riſing offspring, and more particularly into that of his eldeſt-born, “ the ſecond hope of Britain,” juſt and elevated ſentiments of government, and of liberty civil and religious*. But from the period of the untimely and lamented death of the Prince, the ſyſtem of education adopted by the Princeſs Dowager of Wales, to whom the guardianſhip of the royal iſſue was entruſted, appeared to be impreſſed with a bias entirely new; and the ominous reſignation of Lord Harcourt and the Biſhop of Norwich, with the reaſons aſſigned in vindication of their conduct, was the ſubject of much anxious apprehenſion—eſpecially as it was but too well known that the Earl of BUTE, a nobleman haughty in his manners, contracted in his capacity, deſpotic in his ſentiments, and myſterious in his conduct, was ſucceſsfully inſinuating himſelf into the confidence of the Princeſs of Wales, and of her ſon the Heir apparent of the Crown. On the 27th of October 1760, Sunday only having intervened ſince the death of the late King, the Earl of Bute was ſworn a Member of the Privy Council—a mark of diſtinction ſo ſtriking and peculiar as apparently to portend changes of great political importance. After a ſhort interval the Rangerſhip of Richmond Park was taken from the Princeſs Amelia, the only unmarried daughter of the late King, and whom he had ever delighted to diſtinguiſh by marks of his affection, and beſtowed upon the Earl of Bute; and by an order of the King in Council, the name of the Duke of Cumberland, dear ſince the memorable day of Culloden to the Whigs, was ſtruck out of the Liturgy. The Parliament, which, agreeably to the ſalutary proviſions of an Act paſſed for that purpoſe, continued to exerciſe its functions for a period of ſix months after the death of the Sovereign, met on the 18th November, when the King, ſeated on the throne with all the ſplendid decorations of royalty, delivered a ſpeech calculated in the higheſt degree to confirm all the fond and flattering prepoſſeſſions of the public in his favor. After a decent expreſſion of concern for the loſs of the late King, and imploring the bleſſing of Heaven on his endeavors to ſuſtain the weight of Government which now devolved upon him, the young Monarch, with great propriety and dignity of elocution, proceeded in theſe remarkable words: "Born and educated in this country, I GLORY in the name of BRITON, and the peculiar happineſs of my life will ever conſiſt in promoting the happineſs of a people whoſe loyalty and warm affection to me I conſider as the greateſt and moſt permanent ſecurity of my Throne.—The civil and religious rights of my loving ſubjects are equally dear to me with the moſt valuable prerogatives of my Crown." After an ample delineation of the flouriſhing circumſtances of the Kingdom, he concludes as follows: "In this ſtate I have found things at my acceſſion to the throne of my anceſtors—happy in viewing the proſperous part of it; happier ſtill ſhould I have been had found my Kingdoms, whoſe true intereſt I have entirely at heart, in full peace; but ſince the ambition, injurious encroachments, and dangerous deſigns of my enemies rendered the war both juſt and neceſſary, and the generous overture made laſt winter towards a Congreſs for a pacification has not yet produced any ſuitable return, I am determined, with your cheerful and powerful aſſiſtance, to proſecute this war with vigor, in order to that deſirable object

---

* In an occaſional Addreſs or Prologue, ſpoken by Prince George, on acting a part in the Tragedy of CATO, performed at Leiceſter-Houſe, about the year 1749, he was inſtructed thus to expreſs himſelf—

. . . .

The poets' labors elevate the mind,
Teach our young hearts with generous fire to burn,
And feel the virtuous ſentiments we learn.
T' attain theſe glorious ends, what play ſo fit
As that where all the powers of human wit
Combine to dignify great CATO's name,
To deck his tomb, and conſecrate his fame?
Where LIBERTY—O name for ever dear!
Breathes forth in every line, and bids us fear
Nor pains nor death to guard our ſacred laws,
But bravely periſh in our country's cauſe.
Should this ſuperior to my years be thought,
KNOW, 'TWAS THE FIRST GREAT LESSON I WAS TAUGHT.

—a ſafe and honorable peace.—The eyes of all Europe are upon you. From you the *Proteſtant Intereſt* hopes for protection, as well as all our friends for the preſervation of their independency, and our enemies fear the final diſappointment of their ambitious and deſtructive views. Let theſe hopes and fears be confirmed and augmented by the vigor, unanimity, and diſpatch of our proceedings. In this expectation I am the more encouraged by a pleaſing circumſtance, which I look upon as one of the moſt auſpicious omens of my reign. That happy extinction of diviſions, and that union and good harmony which continue to prevail amongſt my ſubjects, afford me the moſt agreeable proſpect. The natural diſpoſition and wiſh of my heart are to cement and promote them; and I promiſe myſelf that nothing will ariſe on your part to interrupt or diſturb a ſituation ſo eſſential to the true and laſting felicity of this great people."

Although this celebrated ſpeech was conceived in the true ſpirit of Whiggiſm, and was expreſſed with all the energy and animation which characterized the preſent Miniſter, it is probable that Mr. Pitt was not inſenſible, or inattentive, to the intrigues and cabals already formed for the purpoſe of effecting a general removal of the preſent Adminiſtration from office. In a few days ſubſequent to the meeting of Parliament, Lord Bute declared to his confidential friend Mr. Doddington, ſoon afterwards created Lord Melcombe, that Lord Holderneſs, who appears to have been the earlieſt convert to the new ſyſtem, "was ready, *at his deſire*, to QUARREL with his fellow-miniſters, on pretext of ſlight and ill uſage, and throw up in SEEMING ANGER, in order that Lord Bute might come in without appearing to diſplace any body." This complaiſant and courtly, or, to ſpeak in juſter terms, this mean and ſervile, offer Lord Bute did not deign for the preſent to accept. Very early in the month of January (1761), ten weeks of the new reign not being as yet completed, Lord Bute informed his confident Mr. Doddington, "that Mr. Pitt MEDITATED A RETREAT."

Shortly after this Lord Bute ſaid "it would be eaſy to make the Duke of Newcaſtle reſign—but who ſhould be the ſucceſſor? He thought it not adviſable to begin there." Doddington replied, "that he ſaw no objection; but, if Lord Bute was averſe, *it might be put into hands that would reſign it to him whenever he choſe to take it.*" It is obſervable that Lord Bute declared his belief that the Duke of Newcaſtle harbored no hoſtile intentions, nor, in caſe of reſignation, would he oppoſe the future Miniſtry. Doubtleſs this Nobleman, who had grown old in the ſervice of the Houſe of Brunſwic, and had long poſſeſſed the favor and confidence of the late King, felt at this period little propenſity to oppoſe the meaſures, or reſiſt the inclinations, of a young Monarch borne along by the full tide of popularity and proſperity. Perceiving his political conſequence loſt, and conſcious of being at once hated as a rival and contemned as an incumbrance, he appears to have been now ſolicitous only to ſecure an honorable retreat. But from the difficulty of appointing an immediate ſucceſſor, his Grace was permitted yet awhile to linger in office, the mere cypher of a Miniſter, and the phantom of his former greatneſs.

The enormous ſupplies demanded for the proſecution of the war amounting to nineteen millions, of which twelve millions were funded at an high intereſt, were granted without inquiry or heſitation. Amongſt the moſt remarkable articles of the national expenditure was the ſum of 200,000l. voted by the Commons, in conſequence of an expreſs meſſage from the Throne, as a compenſation to the ſeveral provinces of America for the extraordinary expences incurred by them in their vigorous and ſtrenuous efforts during the preſent war, and which the Parliament virtually acknowledged by this grant to be more than adequate to their proportional ability. Nor was the preſent grant the firſt of this nature wiſely and indulgently conceded by the Parliament; and affording a pleaſing and ſtriking contraſt to the enormous folly diſplayed in the extravagant ſums laviſhed in German and Pruſſian ſubſidies. The civil Liſt was fixed at the clear annual ſum of 800,000l. payable out of the Aggregate Fund, in lieu of the hereditary and other ſpecific revenues ſettled on the late King. Towards the cloſe of the ſeſſion, a very popular meaſure was recommended by the new Monarch in a ſpeech from the Throne, by which much reputation of patriotiſm and diſintereſtedneſs was gained at a very inconſiderable expence. Notwithſtanding the Act paſſed in the reign of King William, by which the commiſſions of the Judges were continued during their good behaviour, their offices determined at the demiſe of the Crown; though no inſtance had in fact occurred ſince the Revolution in which a Judge had been removed at the acceſſion of a new Sovereign. The King however now declared that he conſidered the independency and uprightneſs of the Judges as eſſential to the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, and one of the beſt ſecurities of the liberty of the ſubject, as well as conducive to the honor of the Crown. He therefore recommended that ſuch farther proviſion ſhould be made for ſecuring the Judges in the enjoyment of their offices, and the permanency of the ſalaries annexed to them, notwithſtanding ſuch demiſe, as ſhould be thought expedient. The Commons acknowledged, in a very loyal addreſs, their grateful ſenſe of his Majeſty's attention to an object ſo intereſting to his people, and a Bill framed for the purpoſe paſſed both Houſes in a very ſhort time. It is evident that no real ſacrifice was made on the part of the Crown in this inſtance—for neither was any purpoſe to be anſwered by the removal of the Judges promoted under the late reign, nor would any Miniſter have ventured previouſly to adviſe, or ſubſequently to juſtify, ſo unprecedented and unconſtitutional a meaſure. As Princes are however in general not only fond of power, but of the ſhadow of it, praiſe is due to every indication of a diſpoſition favourable to liberty; and it is a conceſſion, however occaſionally over-rated, which ought not to be mentioned but in terms of approbation and applauſe.

Mr. Onſlow, who with the higheſt honor and reputation had occupied for more than thirty years the office of Speaker in five ſucceſſive Parliaments, now bending under the weight of increaſing years and infirmities, declared his determination to retire from public buſineſs. The Houſe, ſenſibly affected at the proſpect of this ſeparation, immediately and unanimouſly voted, "that the thanks of the Houſe ſhould be given to Mr. Speaker, for his long and faithful ſervices—for the unſhaken integrity of his conduct—for his ſteady impartiality in the exerciſe of his office—and his unwearied endeavors to promote the real intereſts of his King and Country—to maintain the honor and dignity of Parliament, and to preſerve inviolable the rights and privileges of the Commons of Great Britain." This venerable patriot roſe to expreſs his gratitude to the Houſe for the diſtinguiſhed honor thus conferred upon him—but he found his ſenſations too powerful for utterance, and after a vain effort to ſpeak he was relieved by a guſh of tears. At length in broken ſentences he declared to the Houſe "his inability to hear, without emotions by which he was entirely overpowered, theſe laſt expreſſions of their kindneſs and goodwill. He had received the nobleſt reward which could poſſibly be beſtowed upon the higheſt merit—the thanks and the approbation of his country. He acknowledged the imperfection of his ſervices, but he proteſted that wherein he had failed, it was involuntarily; and he hoped he had obtained the pardon of thoſe to whom any cauſe of offence had been inadvertently given. To give ſatisfaction to all had been his conſtant aim, his ſtudy, and his pride. In retirement and obſcurity, ſaid he, ſhall I now ſpend the remainder of my days; and in the boſom of that retirement my ardent and conſtant prayer will be, that the Conſtitution of this country be preſerved inviolate, and more particularly that the freedom, the dignity, and authority of this Houſe may be perpetual." The Houſe then unanimouſly reſolved on an addreſs to the King, beſeeching his Majeſty to confer ſome ſignal mark of his Royal favor on the Right Hon,

Hon. Arthur Onſlow, Eſq. for his great and eminent ſervices; and his Majeſty in return expreſſed in high terms his eſteem and approbation of the character and public conduct of the Speaker; and a penſion of 3000l. per annum was granted him for his own life and that of his ſon, afterwards ennobled by the title of Lord Onſlow.

On the 19th March (1761) the Parliament was prorogued, after a ſpeech from the Throne expreſſing his Majeſty's entire approval of their conduct, and in a ſhort time diſſolved by proclamation, and a new Parliament convened. Upon the very day on which the diſſolution took place. Mr. Legge was diſmiſſed from his office of Chancellor of the Exchequer; two days after which Lord Holderneſs, having firſt ſecured an ample pecuniary indemnification, together with the reverſion of the Wardenſhip of the Cinque Ports, reſigned the Seals, which were immediately delivered to the Earl of Bute, who appointed the celebrated Charles Jenkinſon, now Lord Hawkeſbury, his under-ſecretary. The circumſtances attending the diſmiſſion of Mr. Legge are ſomewhat remarkable. Not now to advert to the reſolution taken to diſcard all the members of the Whig Adminiſtration, that Miniſter had given peculiar offence to the King when Prince of Wales, by his conduct at the laſt general election. Mr. Legge had, as it appears, in conſequence of very earneſt ſolicitation, offered himſelf a candidate as Knight of the Shire for the County of Southampton. After the canvaſs was ſucceſsfully terminated, and every idea of oppoſition had vaniſhed, a meſſage was received by Mr. Legge from the Prince, requeſting him, in preſſing and ſomewhat peremptory terms, to relinquiſh his pretenſions in favour of Sir Simeon Stuart, a near relation of the Earl of Bute. Mr. Legge, in reply, repreſented in very reſpectful language his earneſt deſire to gratify the wiſhes of his Royal Highneſs, had timely intimation been given him of his intention; but as things were now circumſtanced, he could not in honor to himſelf, or juſtice to his friends, recede from the nomination

nation already made. This was a ſpecies of contumacy altogether unpardonable; and the new Monarch took a very early and deciſive opportunity to demonſtrate to the world how different was his ſyſtem of thinking from that of Louis XII. who, with a magnanimity truly royal, declared it beneath the dignity of a King of France to revenge the quarrel of a Duke of Orleans. Notwithſtanding the advancement of Lord Bute, the entire management of foreign affairs ſtill remained with Mr. Pitt, matters not being as yet mature for a total change; and the fall of Mr. Legge, which was the certain prelude to an approaching cataſtrophe, and which ought to have been the ſignal for an immediate and general reſignation, ſeemed to give little alarm, and made no viſible alteration in the political ſyſtem. He was ſucceeded by Sir Francis Daſhwood, a zealous *Revolution Tory*, intimately connected during the laſt reign with the Court of Leiceſter Houſe, and who conſidered the Earl of Bute as already occupying the poſt of Firſt Lord of the Treaſury; and his firm attachment to that Nobleman, doubtleſs, compenſated for his palpable deficiency in the qualifications requiſite to the juſt diſcharge of the duties of his ſtation.

Previous to the reſumption of the regular narration of events, it will be neceſſary, at leaſt uſeful, to advert to the general ſtate of parties at this period—for it muſt no more be inferred, from the perfect ſerenity which had, under a wiſe and magnanimous Adminiſtration, prevailed for ſeveral years paſt throughout the Kingdom, that no political parties or dormant ſeeds of animoſity exiſted, than, during the peaceful intervals of the eruptions of Etna or Veſuvius, that no combuſtible materials threatening future exploſion were lodged in the concavities of theſe volcanos. The grand parties which divided the nation at this juncture, nominally indeed co-incided with thoſe which prevailed at the diſtant æras of the Revolution and Acceſſion. But a real and moſt material alteration had taken place. By the impolitic violence of the meaſures adopted by the Whigs on their reſtoration to power, a great proportion of the Tories were driven into Jacobitiſm; but after repeated unſucceſsful efforts, the cauſe of the Pretender was given up as deſperate, and his very name had ſunk into contempt and almoſt into oblivion. The more reſpectable part of the Tories, long ſince abandoning the abſurd ſpeculative opinions of their anceſtors, but retaining at bottom ſtrong monarchical prepoſſeſſions, with high and arbitrary maxims of government, confined their oppoſition to the new and unconſtitutional meaſures adopted by the Whigs. Since the death of the late Prince of Wales their political importance had much diminiſhed, and they ſeemed, in gloomy and portentous ſilence, myſteriouſly to reſerve themſelves for more favourable times. The principles of the Whigs, who conſtituted the bulk of the Kingdom, had ſuffered little variation. It might nevertheleſs be obſerved, that, as the national attachment to the Houſe of Brunſwic increaſed, the national diſlike of the Whig or Hanoverian ſyſtem of politics had proportionally diminiſhed. A ſtanding army, a national debt, a German war, a ſeptennial Parliament, a Government by influence—terms once of terrific and hateful ſound—no longer excited alarm. The third grand political diſtinction was that of the Diſſenters, comprehending under this general denomination all the different claſſes of Proteſtant Sectaries, who had been ever uniformly and cloſely connected with the Whigs by their common attachment to the principles of liberty civil and religious—by their zeal for the Houſe of Hanover, and their *indiſcriminate ſupport* of the meaſures of the Court—a zeal at this period ſtill ſubſiſting and operating on their part with unabated ardor. This very circumſtance however, taken in conjunction with the known fact that the bulk of the Eſtabliſhed Clergy had ſince the æra of the Revolution invariably ſided with the Oppoſition, plainly ſhowed, to adopt the words of a profound and philoſophical hiſtorian*, "that an extrinſic "weight, SOME BIAS, was yet hanging on the Conſtitution, "which turned it from its natural courſe." But the Eſtabliſhed Clergy, once the firm and paſſionate adherents of the

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* Hume.

Houſe of Stuart, began at length to be ſenſible of the ſtrange deluſion they had labored under, and were now well diſpoſed to compenſate for former deficiencies, by the exceſſive overflow of their preſent loyalty. When a competition for royal favor was thus eſtabliſhed between the Church and the Sectaries, it was evident that the latter muſt ſoon find themſelves unable to maintain the conteſt. The intereſts of the Church, *i. e.* of the Clergy, muſt be allowed ſo far to co-incide with thoſe of the Crown, as clearly to ſuggeſt the policy of oppoſing, with united ſtrength, all innovations by which the power or ſplendor of either might be eventually affected. Excluſive of this leading conſideration, the dignity, the grandeur, the opulence aſſociated with an Eſtabliſhment, would give it a deciſive ſuperiority, in the ſcale of royal eſtimation, over a body of men entirely deſtitute of theſe advantages. Conſcious of their prodigious inferiority in theſe reſpects, the Diſſenters would *naturally* regard the prerogative of the Monarch, and the authority of the Church, with jealous eyes. They would eagerly ſeize every occaſion to ſecure and extend the general ſyſtem of liberty, and in the *uſual* courſe of things would be inclined to favor the party in oppoſition to the Court. No juſt concluſion however can hence be drawn, that a wiſe and equitable government would find it impracticable, or even difficult, to reſtrain this diſpoſition within reaſonable and ſalutary bounds. In proportion as the Sectaries *feel* that comparative weakneſs and inſecurity which muſt neceſſarily both excite and juſtify a certain degree of habitual alarm and apprehenſion, would they be ſoothed and flattered with any marks of reſpect or confidence from the Executive Power, which, however unimportant in their own nature, would be conſidered as proofs of *a favourable diſpoſition*. And a Government acting either on a ſelfiſh or a benevolent principle, would find itſelf amply repaid for theſe trivial indulgencies in the gratitude and affection of a numerous claſs of citizens, on every account entitled to attention and regard. Agreeably to the genius of Sects in general, who muſt neceſſarily poſſeſs elevated ideas of their own religious ſuperiority in doctrine, diſcipline, or practice, the Engliſh Sectaries will be found not deſtitute of a conſiderable tincture of enthuſiaſm or prejudice. For it is abſurd to ſuppoſe the diſſent of the generality to be *founded on reaſon*, whether it be or be not capable of a reaſonable vindication. Sectaries taking them in the aggregate, will alſo with their religious prejudices combine more rigid morals than can with probability be expected in the promiſcuous multitude. On this account, and from that degree of knowledge and intelligence which, from obvious and permanent cauſes, will be very generally diffuſed among them, though few perhaps will drink deep of the fountain of Philoſophy, or attain to the higheſt ſeats in the temple of Science, they will certainly, upon the whole, poſſeſs very extenſive influence in the grand ſphere of civil and ſocial life. If then theſe people obſerve a diſpoſition in Government to treat them with contempt and rigor—if they perceive an eagerneſs in the ruling powers on every occaſion, to ſhow that they are regarded by them as perſons partially diſaffected to the Conſtitution, as men undeſerving of confidence, who are endured by the lenity, and not protected by the juſtice of the Government, a ſpirit of reſentment, animoſity, and rancor, will be moſt ſurely excited*.

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* "An eſſe ulla major aut inſignior contumelia poteſt, quam partem civitatis velut CONTAMINATAM haberi? Quid eſt aliud quam exilium inter eadem mœnia, quam relegationem pati? Sic nos ſub legis ſuperbiſſimæ vincula conjicitis, quá dirimatis ſocietatem civilem, quaſque ex una civitate faciatis."

Liv. lib. iv. cap. 4.

Thus the wiſdom of antiquity pronounced. But in the view of fools wiſdom is doomed to appear as folly. A few extracts from the celebrated pamphlet aſcribed to the preſent Biſhop of Rocheſter (Dr. Horſley), entitled "Review of the Caſe of the Proteſtant Diſſenters," will afford a complete ſpecimen of the language and ſentiments which, ſince the revival of the TORY SYSTEM, have been moſt faſhionable and acceptable at the Court.—"That a Diſſenter, whatever may be his integrity and piety, is an unfit perſon to be intruſted with authority or influence in a State, is an axiom in politics, this High-church Prelate affirms, of which a regular proof is not wanting.—In this country the Stateſman finds an Eſtabliſhed Church amidſt a variety of *brawling Sects*, all clamorous againſt the Hierarchy, to whoſe *candor and liberality* they are in great part indebted for TOLERATION.—It becomes the friends of peace and order, whenever the univerſal acknowledgment of the right of private judgment is pretended, to proteſt ALOUD againſt it.—The excluſions of the Corporation and Teſt acts hardly amount to incapacities"—and for the reaſon which his Lordſhip aſſigns, an *Auto de Fê* by which the tribunal of the Holy Inquiſition commits the bodies of Heretics to the flames for the good of their ſouls, inflicts no puniſhments, "becauſe they are only ſuch as the delinquent hath, by a recantation

By being conſtantly ſuſpected, they will become the juſt objects of ſuſpicion. By being *falſely* branded as diſaffected, they will become *truly* diſaffected: and though that diſaffection may not produce any immediately viſible effect; nay, though the indiſcreet expreſſions of anger and political alienation on their part, in conſequence of great and recent provocations, ſhould expoſe them to the temporary warmth of general reſentment; yet in the ceaſeleſs viciſſitudes of human affairs an impreſſion may, at ſome criſis favourable to a ſudden and unexpected change of ſentiment, be made on the public mind, which ſhall ſtrikingly demonſtrate this odious ſyſtem of policy to be as devoid of wiſdom, as it is of juſtice and magnanimity. On theſe general axioms the Hiſtory of the preſent Reign will afford in many reſpects an inſtructive and mournful comment.

In the month of March (1761) while the Parliament was yet ſitting, very alarming commotions took place in ſeveral of the northern counties, in conſequence of the expiration of the three years term of ſervice preſcribed by the Militia Act, and the new ballot now about to take place. At Hexham in the county of Northumberland, the juſtices being aſſembled for the purpoſe of enforcing the act, the populace, regarding this

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recantation of his errors, in his own power to remove." There is too much reaſon, as his Lordſhip intimates, to ſuſpect "that the principles of a Non-conformiſt in religion and a Republican in politics are inſeparably united;" and yet the Non-conformiſts are univerſally allowed to have been *in fact* the firmeſt friends of thoſe Monarchs who have treated them as friends.—"The truth ſeems to be," ſays his Lordſhip, contrary to the uniform and poſitive tenor of the hiſtoric evidence—"that the Diſſenters were *equally with the Papiſts* the original objects of the Teſt act! ! !—The Corporation Act with *great wiſdom and juſtice* hath provided for the perpetual excluſion of the Non-conformiſts.—It matters little what might be the original purpoſe of the Teſt Act. It now ſtands in the Statute-book a declared proviſion againſt the Diſſenters.—This argument (the inefficacy of the Teſt) proves the expediency of Queen Anne's ſtatute againſt occaſional conformity.—The NON-CONFORMISTS have no claim upon the GRATITUDE, the JUSTICE, or the IMPARTIALITY of the Britiſh Government.—Should the Teſt Laws be repealed, the work of Reformation will go on till one ſtone will not be left ſtanding upon another of the admired fabric of the Britiſh Conſtitution." Such are the maxims which conſtitute the wiſdom and policy of the preſent reign with regard to the Diſſenters; and yet it is made a ſubject of wonder and reproach that the Diſſenters are become diſcontented and indignant—as if Diſſenters did not participate of the common paſſions and feelings of human nature. "REST, REST, IMMORTAL SPIRITS of LOCKE, HOADLEY and SOMERS! Seek not to know by what improvements on your exploded principles the Houſe of Brunſwic now governs the Empire of Britain!"

military compulſion as a tyrannical and inſupportable grievance, collected to the number of many thouſands, armed with clubs and other offenſive weapons, with which they aſſaulted the guard of ſoldiers ſtationed for the protection of the Magiſtrates. The Riot Act was read without effect, and they were proceeding to ſtill greater outrages, when the military received orders to fire upon the aſſailants, five-and-forty of whom were killed on the ſpot, and no leſs than three hundred miſerably wounded, amongſt whom were many women and children; and various of the rioters were in the ſequel apprehended, tried, and executed. By a reſolute exertion of military force, a general and ſullen ſubmiſſion to the Act was at length obtained; but the wiſdom and humanity of thoſe by whom the Bill was originally framed, ſtill remained at leaſt as problematic as before. In the courſe of the ſummer the King declared in Council his reſolution to demand in marriage the Princeſs Charlotte-Sophia of Mecklenburg Strelitz: and the Earl Harcourt being appointed Ambaſſador Plenipotentiary to the Court of Strelitz, the contract of marriage, after a negotiation not very tedious, was ſigned, and the Princeſs conducted to Stade, whence ſhe embarked on board one of the royal yachts, and arrived at the Palace of St. James's, September 8, the nuptial ceremony being the ſame evening performed in the Chapel Royal. And on the 22d of September the coronation of their Majeſties was celebrated with much pomp and magnificence. The new Queen ſoon acquired great popularity by the ſweetneſs and affability of her manners, which by the prudence and propriety of her conduct ſhe has invariably retained.

The operations of the war were ſtill carried on with the accuſtomed vigor and ſucceſs. In the month of June, the iſland of Dominique, important from its ſituation between the iſlands of Martinico and Guadaloupe, was reduced with little difficulty or loſs by an armament commanded by Sir James Douglaſs and a body of troops under Lord Rollo. A far more hazardous enterpriſe was undertaken about the ſame time againſt the Iſland of Belleiſle, ſituated oppoſite the harbor of Vannes on the coaſt of Bretagne. The iſland was defended by a ſtrong fortreſs, conſtructed by the famous Vauban, near the town of Palais. On the firſt diſembarkment of the troops, they met with a very ſevere repulſe, being compelled precipitately to retreat, with the loſs of near 500 men. But the Engliſh commanders, General Hodgſon and Commodore Keppel, ſecure of the zeal and ardor of their troops, rendered bold and ſanguine by a long continuance of proſperity, determined to make another effort, which was attended with happier ſucceſs—and a body of marines and grenadiers, making good their landing on the craggy point of Lomeria, ſuſtained their poſition with wonderful intrepidity againſt a very ſuperior force, till joined by the remaining troops amounting to eight or ten thouſand men. M. de St. Croix the French commander then recalled his detachments, and prepared for a vigorous defence of the citadel, the avenues to which he had fortified with ſix additional redoubts, which, with much effuſion of blood, were ſucceſſively attacked and carried by the Engliſh, who now urged, with the moſt perſevering ardor, the ſiege of the citadel. On the 7th of June, a practicable breach being made, and a general aſſault apprehended on the part of M. de St. Croix, that officer demanded a capitulation, which was granted on the moſt honorable conditions. Thus, at the expence of two thouſand lives, and an enormous ſum expended in naval and military preparations, the Engliſh achieved the conqueſt of a barren rock, affording no produce excepting the laurels of victory.

At the termination of the ſucceſsful campaign of 1759, overtures had been made, agreeably to the intimation in the Speech from the Throne, by the Kings of Great Britain and Pruſſia to the Courts of Vienna and Verſailles, for a general accommodation of differences, which did not appear wholly unacceptable; and after ſome communications through the medium of Prince Lewis of Brunſwic, reſiding at the Hague in quality of Commander in Chief of the Armies of the Republic, and Guardian of the young Stadtholder, it was agreed to open a general congreſs at Augſburg. Various cauſes of delay however concurred to prevent the execution of this project*, and the Court of Vienna was not yet prepared to relinquiſh its claim to Sileſia. But the enſuing campaign of 1760 proving very diſaſtrous to France, whoſe finances were now reduced to a ſtate of the moſt diſtreſſing derangement, the French Ambaſſador reſident at Stockholm delivered a declaration to the Swediſh Monarch in February 1761, importing his Sovereign's earneſt deſire to adopt effectual meaſures for reſtoring the peace of Europe:—that in concerting with his Allies a general plan of pacification, he was diſpoſed abundantly to diſplay his moderation whenever Great Britain ſhould be inclined to acquieſce in reaſonable terms:—that in conſequence of the expences and calamities attendant on the war, he was conſtrained to leſſen his ſubſidies; and ſhould the war continue, he could no longer promiſe an exact compliance with the letter of his engagements. In the month of March, a memorial was tranſmitted by the hands of Prince Gallitzin, the Ruſſian Ambaſſador at the Court of London, from the Duc de Choiſeul Prime Miniſter of France, to Mr. Secretary Pitt, ſignifying the firm determination of His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſo to act in concert with his Allies at the future Congreſs, as to demonſtrate his ſincere diſpoſition to promote the intereſts of humanity, and reſtore the peace of Europe. His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty expreſſed his deſire "that the particular accommodation between France and England ſhould be united with the general pacification of Europe; but as the objects of the war between thoſe two Powers were totally foreign to the diſputes in Germany, he thought it

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* The principal obſtruction to the meeting of this Congreſs, the object of which was to reſtore tranquillity to ſo many kingdoms, aroſe, as the Royal Hiſtorian tells us, from this curious punctilio:—It was objected by England and Pruſſia, that as no war was waged againſt the Emperor, but only againſt the Empreſs as Queen of Hungary, &c. his Imperial Majeſty had no right to ſend an Ambaſſador to the Congreſs. But the Emperor not chooſing to deſiſt from his pretenſions, and being in fact a party concerned as Head of the Empire, under the BAN of which the King of Pruſſia in his capacity of Elector had been put by the Diet, and the validity of which would have been thus virtually confirmed, the whole plan of pacification proved abortive.——Hiſtoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.

it would be previouſly neceſſary to agree with his Britannic Majeſty upon certain principal points which ſhould form the baſis of their particular negotiation." Theſe advances were favorably received, and Mr. Pitt wrote an immediate anſwer to the Duc de Choiſeul, expreſſing his Britannic Majeſty's ſincere deſire to correſpond with the pacific ſentiments of the Moſt Chriſtian King—and propoſing that Miniſters duly authoriſed ſhould be immediately appointed at the reſpective Courts of Verſailles and London, to enter upon this negotiation; and in the month of May Mr. Stanley repaired to Paris on the part of the King of England, and M. Buſſy was received in the ſame manner from the Court of France, at St. James's. The inſtructions of M. Buſſy were to adhere to the *uti poſſidetis*, as the baſis of the negotiation—to demand an explanation of his Britannic Majeſty's ſentiments touching the dates or æras at which the propoſal ſhould take place; and in the conferences which enſued, the French Miniſter continued to preſs the ſpecification of thoſe dates. But the Engliſh Miniſter evaded the diſcuſſion of this point until the ſurrender of the citadel of Belleiſle: and then a declaration was made in explicit terms, that the firſt of July, the firſt of September, and the firſt of November next ſhould be the eſtabliſhed æras in Europe, the Weſt Indies, and the Eaſt Indies; after which all the conqueſts made on either ſide ſhould be mutually reſtored;—that the preliminaries agreed upon between the two Crowns ſhould be concluſive and obligatory, independent of the negotiations of Augſburg for ſettling the peace of Germany. After the interchange of many memorials chiefly reſpecting the compenſations to be made for the deviations propoſed from the original principle or baſis of the *uti poſſidetis*, France profeſſed her willingneſs to cede and guaranty Canada to the Crown of England, on condition of her being admitted to a participation, as formerly, of the cod-fiſhery on the banks of Newfoundland—and inſiſting alſo upon the reſtitution of the iſland of Cape Breton, as an equivalent for which France conſented to a renewal of the article in the Treaties of

Utrecht and Aix-la-Chapelle, for the demolition of the harbor and works of Dunkirk—that in lieu of the iſland of Minorca, England ſhould reſtore Guadaloupe and Marigalante—and that in conſideration of the reſtitution of Belleiſle and Senegal, or Goree, France would evacuate her conqueſts in Germany. Touching the captures made by England at ſea previous to the declaration of war, his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty declared that "he would gladly ſubmit to the juſtice of the King of England, and the determination of the Engliſh Courts of Judicature—that ſubjects trading under the faith of treaties, and the protection of the law of nations, ought not to ſuffer from the miſunderſtandings which may ariſe in the cabinets of Princes, before thoſe miſunderſtandings are publicly known—that the practice of declaring war was eſtabliſhed by the law of nations as eſſential to the general ſafety—that no ſeizure made or prize taken anterior to ſuch declaration could be deemed legal, without violating the moſt ſacred of human inſtitutions—that no ſort of affinity ſubſiſted between hoſtilities committed on the Ohio and ſhips taken in the Weſt Indies—that ſuch hoſtilities might indeed be alledged as juſt motives for declaring war, but the effects of that declaration ought not to precede the declaration itſelf—and that it would be the height of injuſtice thus to involve innocent individuals, ignorant of the diſputes of Monarchs, or the affairs of Nations, in the depth of diſtreſs and ruin, by the indiſcriminate confiſcation of their property." Together with this memorial, M. de Buſſy delivered to the Engliſh Miniſter another of a very extraordinary nature, importing that the diſputes ſubſiſting between England and Spain gave his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty cauſe to apprehend a new war in Europe and America, unleſs they could be now adjuſted—that his Catholic Majeſty had communicated to the Court of Verſailles the chief points of diſcuſſion, namely, the reſtitution of ſome ſhips taken in the courſe of the war under Spaniſh colours, the liberty claimed by the Spaniſh nation to fiſh on the Banks of Newfoundland, and the ſettlements made by the Engliſh on the Spaniſh territories in the Bay of Honduras. His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty therefore paſſionately deſired that theſe differences might be amicably terminated, and that the King of Spain ſhould be invited to guaranty the treaty between the two Crowns; becauſe if theſe differences were the means of kindling a new war, the moſt Chriſtian King would be obliged to perform his engagements to his Allies. Theſe memorials were accompanied with a third declaration, ſignifying that the Empreſs Queen had conſented to a ſeparate peace between England and France on theſe terms only—that France ſhould for her benefit keep poſſeſſion of the Countries conquered in her name, and as her Ally, from the King of Pruſſia; and that the King of Great Britain ſhould no longer afford aſſiſtance either in money or troops to the King of Pruſſia, in like manner as France ſhould be reſtricted with reſpect to the Empreſs Queen. The indiſcretion of theſe memorials, containing demands thus novel and offenſive, was ſo flagrant, that many perſons ſcrupled not to brand the entire proceedings of the Court of Verſailles with the moſt inſidious duplicity, though it appeared ſufficiently evident to the intelligent and impartial, that the impolicy of her conduct aroſe from her extreme anxiety of peace, and a too ſanguine hope that the proſpect of an eventual rupture with Spain would induce Great Britain to relax the rigor of her terms. The reſentment and indignation of the Court of London at this inſidious and unexpected interpoſition ſeemed to know no bounds. Mr. Secretary Pitt declared both verbally, and in writing, to M. de Buſſy, that the King of Great Britain would not ſuffer the diſputes with Spain to be mixed, in any ſhape whatſoever, with the negotiations for peace now depending with France, and that all farther mention of ſuch an idea would be conſidered as offenſive to his dignity: and the right of France at any time to intermeddle in like diſcuſſions between England and Spain, was denied with the moſt poſitive diſdain. Upon theſe grounds M. de Buſſy was informed, that the King of England had ordered the memorial concerning Spain to be returned as totally inadmiſſible: and alſo the memorial relating to the King of Pruſſia as affecting the *honor* of Great Britain, and the unſhaken fidelity with which his Majeſty would fulfil his engagements with his Allies. The court of Verſailles now became fully ſenſible of the ill conſequences that might reſult from this falſe, perhaps fatal ſtep. In a ſubſequent memorial, therefore, ſhe condeſcended to apologiſe for propoſing a diſcuſſion of the points in diſpute with Spain, and declared her readineſs to make new conceſſions for the purpoſe of accompliſhing the deſirable end of general pacification. In reply, a paper was tranſmitted to Mr. Stanley, containing the *ultimatum* of the Engliſh Court—inſiſting upon the entire ceſſion of Canada and its dependencies; of Cape Breton and the other iſlands in the Gulph of St. Laurence; of the ſettlements of Goree and Senegal, in Africa; the reſtoration of Minorca; the demolition of Dunkirk; ſatisfaction to the Eaſt India Company; the evacuation of Oſtend and Nieuport, the reſtitution of Cleves, Weſel, Gueldres; and in general of all the territories belonging to the King of Pruſſia, and the other Allies of Great Britain. The King of England alſo left himſelf at full liberty to aſſiſt his Pruſſian Majeſty according to the terms of the ſubſiſting treaties. With reſpect to the prizes taken after the commencement of hoſtilities, though before the formality of declaring war, his Britannic Majeſty perſiſted in his opinion, that ſuch a demand on the part of France was neither juſt nor defenſible. Should France comply with theſe propoſitions, the Court of London declared its readineſs to reſtore to France her conqueſts of Belleiſle and Guadaloupe, and to admit the ſubjects of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to a participation of the Newfoundland fiſhery, agreeably to the thirteenth article of the Treaty of Utrecht, and to cede the ſmall iſlands of St. Pierre, on certain conditions, as a harbour for the fiſhermen. Theſe ſevere terms France, in the *ultimatum* on her part, dated September 13, 1761, accepted with little variation, excepting that ſhe refuſed to recede from her claim of reſtitution reſpecting the merchant ſhips captured previous to the declaration of war; and that his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty aſſerted it to be not in his power, agreeably to the ſtipulations by which he was already engaged, to evacuate the countries belonging to the Empreſs Queen.

To this memorial the Court of London deigned not to reply; and the Miniſters Stanley and Buſſy—this ineffectual negotiation being at length terminated—returned to their reſpective homes. Notwithſtanding the immediate withdrawment of the memorial reſpecting Spain, and the declaration of France that the offence given to the Engliſh Court was perfectly unintentional, much anger and reſentment remained, which now indeed appeared chiefly directed againſt the Court of Madrid: and the Engliſh Miniſter, of a diſpoſition naturally bold and peremptory, and whom a long courſe of proſperity had rendered haughty and preſumptuous, tranſmitted inſtructions to the Earl of Briſtol, the Ambaſſador of England at the Court of Spain, to require from his Catholic Majeſty an explicit declaration as to the authority by which the French Miniſter acted in preſenting a memorial in the name of the King of Spain, which, to uſe the language of the Engliſh Secretary, "beſt ſpoke its own enormity; and in caſe it ſhall be avowed by the Court of Madrid, to remonſtrate with energy and firmneſs on the unexample dirregularity of ſuch proceedings, and to declare his Majeſty's immoveable determination not to add facilities for the ſatisfaction of that Court, in conſideration of any intimation on the part of a hoſtile power of union in councils, or of preſent or future conjunctions. In relation to the three points ſtated in this "inſolent memorial," Mr. Pitt declared it ſufficient to ſay reſpecting the firſt, "that the Courts inſtituted for the cognizance of ſuch matters, are open to the parties who think fit to ſeek redreſs in due courſe of law. As to the obſolete pretenſions of Spain to fiſh on the Banks of Newfoundland, no conceſſion in a matter ſo ſacred would be even thought of. With regard to the diſputes relating to the Logwood Coaſts, his Britannic Majeſty was willing to receive any juſt overtures on the part of his Catholic Majeſty, provided they be not conveyed through the channel of France. And he concluded with profeſſing his expectation that the Court of Madrid would come to ſome explicit eclairciſſement as to the deſtination of her fleets, and with reſpect to her diſpoſition to maintain and cultivate friendſhip and good correſpondence with Great Britain." The Earl of Briſtol, who appears to have conducted himſelf throughout this difficult negotiation with diſtinguiſhed ability and addreſs, informed Mr. Pitt in his reply, dated Auguſt 31, 1761, that immediately on the receipt of the diſpatches from England, he had waited on the Spaniſh Miniſter Don Ricardo Wall, at St. Ildefonſo, and in the moſt explicit, and at the ſame time in the leaſt offenſive mode executed the orders contained in them. In reply, General Wall affirmed that the King of Spain, with a view merely to render the peace more permanent, and without the leaſt intention to give offence to his Britannic Majeſty, had aſſented to the propoſal made by the Moſt Chriſtian King, for the joint accommodation of their differences with Great Britain. The Spaniſh Miniſter aſked, whether it was poſſible to imagine that his Catholic Majeſty was ſeeking occaſions of provocation at a time when England was in the moſt flouriſhing and exalted ſituation it had ever known, in conſequence of the moſt extraordinary ſeries of proſperities that any nation had ever met with—that Spain was ſurpriſed Great Britain ſhould take umbrage at any naval preparations made ſince the acceſſion of his preſent Majeſty, ſince the ſhips of war in commiſſion were fewer than thoſe which had been equipped during the reign of the late King Ferdinand—that they ſerved in part to maintain the correſpondence between the kingdoms of Spain and the Sicilies, of which his Catholic Majeſty, during the minority of his ſon, was the guardian and protector. Others were intended to convoy the homeward or outward bound flotas, aſſogues, or regiſter ſhips; and the remaining ones were to defend their coaſts againſt the inſults of the Barbary corſairs: and that it was the invariable wiſh of his Catholic

Majeſty to cement and cultivate the friendſhip ſo happily ſubſiſting between the two Courts. The Spaniſh Miniſter acknowledged that the greateſt harmony exiſted between the Kings of France and Spain; at which, who in this age could affect to wonder? But if his Catholic Majeſty had conceived that the memorial in queſtion could have been conſtrued into a menace, he would never have conſented to the delivery of it. On the contrary, what proceeding, ſaid the Spaniſh Miniſter, more noble can an enemy hold, than to ſay as France does to Great Britain—I am reſolved for the ſake of peace to make theſe ſacrifices; but at the ſame time, in order to ſecure the permanency of it, I am deſirous that England ſhould ſettle with Spain their ſubjects of diſagreement, leſt from the nature of our ſubſiſting engagements I may be entangled in a freſh war. As to the differences which had ariſen between England and Spain reſpecting the capture of the Spaniſh ſhips during the war, the General allowed they would admit of an eaſy accommodation. But the Court of Spain thought the other two articles of much more importance; and that the refuſal of the Engliſh Court to enter into any negotiation reſpecting the claim of Spain to fiſh on the Banks of Newfoundland was violent and harſh, eſpecially as coupled with the abſolute determination of England not to relinquiſh her acknowledged uſurpations on the coaſt of Honduras, except his Catholic Majeſty would previouſly aſſure to them the right to which they pretended of cutting logwood within that territory. In other words, he affirmed this was ſaying, "I will give up the dwelling of which I have taken forcible poſſeſſion, but firſt you ſhall engage to give me what I want to take." When the forbearance of Spain reſpecting the logwood was compared with the excluſive and dogmatical claim of England to the Newfoundland fiſhery, which was of ſo much importance to Spain, as an article not of luxury but ſubſiſtence, the Spaniſh Miniſter ſaid, he thought the Engliſh themſelves would heſitate to boaſt of the ſuperior juſtice and equity of their conduct. In his ſubſequent diſpatches of September and October, the Engliſh Ambaſſador informed the Court of London, "that umbrage had been taken by the Court of Madrid at the additional fortifications reported to be going forward at Gibraltar, and that General Wall had aſked, if it were poſſible that England could be ſeriouſly apprehenſive of a rupture with Spain; affirming, that at no time had the Catholic King been more intent upon cultivating a good underſtanding with his Britannic Majeſty than at the preſent—that the flota had arrived at Cadiz, but that the treaſure belonging to the Crown was much leſs than had been expected— that great abuſes and malverſations had been charged againſt the Spaniſh Viceroys and Governors in the Weſt Indies—and that his Catholic Majeſty's Miniſters had ſtrongly ſuggeſted to him the impracticability of reforming effectually the old defective ſyſtem of Government, ſhould the Court of Madrid embroil itſelf in the preſent troubles of Europe—that the Spaniſh Miniſter, Don Ricardo, urged the evacuation of the more recent ſettlements on the Honduras coaſt, which he ſaid would ſerve as a ſalvo for the honor of Spain, and greatly facilitate the final adjuſtment of her differences with England. General Wall, ſaid the Ambaſſador, has ever acted in too ingenuous a manner for me to ſuſpect the leaſt duplicity in his conduct—the Ambaſſador added, that on the notification of the King's marriage to the Court of Madrid, he was particularly enjoined to aſſure the King of England of the ſhare his Catholic Majeſty would ever take in all events that contributed to his happineſs—that the Spaniſh Miniſter expreſſed a thorough concern at the breaking off the conferences between the Courts of Verſailles and London; and ſaid it was the opinion in Spain, that the French Miniſters had gone as great lengths in conceſſions as could be expected, conſidering the engagements of France with her Allies." Previous however to the arrival of the laſt diſpatches Mr. Pitt was no longer Miniſter. Having received certain intelligence that a treaty of alliance was recently concluded between the two Courts of France and Spain, and being firmly perſuaded that the articles of this treaty were in the higheſt degree inimical to great Britain, and that Spain waited only the favorable moment to act openly againſt her, he ſtrongly urged in Council the policy and neceſſity of an immediate declaration of war againſt that power; and recommended that a ſtrong ſquadron ſhould be immediately ſent to the Mediterranean, to intercept the flota actually on its paſſage from Carthagena to Cadiz. In this opinion he was ſupported only by his brother-in-law Earl Temple, Lord Privy Seal *; and finding his influence in the Cabinet at an end, he reſigned the ſeals, October 9, 1761—in order, to uſe his own words, "not to remain reſponſible for meaſures which he was no longer allowed to guide." Mr. Pitt was ſucceeded in the office of Secretary of State by the Earl of Egremont, deſcended from the famous Sir William Wyndham, and a Tory of that modified caſt which now clearly appeared to be the ſureſt and ſtrongeſt ground of Court favor in the preſent reign. The King, in order doubtleſs to mollify the reſentment of the late Miniſter, granted him a penſion of 3000l. per annum, a reward which his indifference to the accumulation of riches rendered it neceſſary, though with ſome riſque to his popularity, to accept; and his Lady was created Baroneſs of Chatham, with remainder to her heirs male, Mr. Pitt in his own perſon declining the honours of the Peerage. Thus did the new Miniſter, or the FAVORITE, by which appellation Lord Bute was now very generally diſtinguiſhed, accompliſh the great object of his wiſhes in a manner which reflected much leſs diſcredit upon his character than could have been previouſly imagined. For the determination of the Cabinet could not but be approved by the reflecting and intelligent part of the Nation, who ſaw no clear proofs of any intention in the Court of Madrid hoſtile to Great Britain; and

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* Lady Heſter Pitt, afterwards Counteſs of Chatham, was ſiſter to Earl Temple.

and who were of opinion, that to precipitate the Nation, already loaded with a debt of one hundred and thirty millions, into a new and dangerous war, becauſe a treaty had been concluded by Spain with France, which might when the articles were divulged, poſſibly be found contrary to good faith and amity, was a mode of proceeding not to be juſtified by an appeal to the voice of reaſon, or the law of nations. It could not but be remarked, that the reſignation of Mr. Pitt in preſent circumſtances ſavored more of pride and paſſion than of wiſdom or patriotiſm—and that an oppoſition of ſentiment in the Cabinet on ſuch a point, did not juſtify him in withholding his ſervices at a criſis which peculiarly demanded the exertion of his great and acknowledged talents. Neverthelefs, after a ſhort and vehement competition between the ſupporters of the old ſyſtem and the new for public favor, it declared itſelf ſtrongly for Mr. Pitt. On attending the King to the Guildhall of the City of London, on the firſt anniverſary of the election of a Lord Mayor, agreeably to ancient and eſtabliſhed cuſtom, the air was rent with the acclamations of the multitude, whilſt the Monarch himſelf paſſed comparatively unregarded, and the FAVORITE was inſulted by the rudeſt expreſſions of plebeian malignity, and inſolence. An unanimous vote of thanks alſo paſſed the Court of Common Council to the Right Hon. William Pitt, in the moſt flattering terms of reſpect and applauſe, for his great and eminent ſervices.

Had the new miniſters determined to avoid that rupture with Spain, for which no political neceſſity, or in fact any rational motive exiſted, they would have been entitled to indiſputable praiſe. But heſitating between their own conviction of the inexpediency, not to ſay injuſtice of the war, and their anxious deſire to ſupport their character with the nation at large for reſolution and vigor, they adopted that equivocal line of conduct which aimed at no determinate object, and which was really calculated to accelerate the cataſtrophe they earneſtly wiſhed to avert. On the 28th of October the Earl of Egremont wrote to the Ambaſſador Lord Briſtol, that it was highly expedient that the Court of Spain ſhould in the preſent moment be appriſed of the ſentiments of that of Great Britain, and that the King of England had nothing more at heart than to cultivate the moſt cordial friendſhip of his Catholic Majeſty; but that his Britannic Majeſty cannot imagine that the King of Spain ſhould think it unreaſonable to deſire a communication of the treaty acknowledged to have been lately concluded between the Courts of Madrid and Verſailles, or of ſuch articles thereof as can by particular and explicit engagements immediately relate to the intereſts of Great Britain, before he enters into farther negotiation on the points depending between the two Crowns; and the Ambaſſador is inſtructed to uſe the moſt preſſing inſtances to M. Wall to obtain ſuch communication as is above mentioned. The Ambaſſador is farther aſſured, that the reſignation of Mr. Pitt will only animate the preſent Miniſtry to a more vigorous exertion of their powers, and that the moſt perfect harmony, unanimity and confidence now reign in his Majeſty's councils. This diſpatch being written with a view to a confidential communication of its contents to the Spaniſh Miniſter, the Ambaſſador is informed in a ſeparate and "moſt ſecret" letter, that if the Court of Spain ſhould propoſe to give his Majeſty ſolemn aſſurances of the innocence of the treaty in queſtion in relation to the intereſts of England, he is not totally to reject the alternative, but to take it *in referendum*; provided always that the ſaid aſſurances be given upon his Catholic Majeſty's royal word, ſignified in writing either by the Spaniſh Secretary of State M. Wall, or by the Condé de Fuentes the Spaniſh Miniſter in London, to his Britannic Majeſty's Secretary of State, and NOT OTHERWISE. The Earl of Briſtol, in a letter written to the Earl of Egremont, dated November the 2d, remarks the ſudden alteration of behavior in the Spaniſh Miniſter, and the haughty language now held by the Court of Madrid—General Wall declaring with uncommon warmth, that we were intoxicated with our ſucceſſes, and that it was evident, by our refuſal of the Duc de Choiſeul's propoſals, that we aimed firſt to ruin the French power, in order more eaſily afterwards to cruſh Spain, and, by ſeizing the Spaniſh dominions in America, to ſatisfy to the utmoſt our ambition and unbounded thirſt of conqueſt. He himſelf, he ſaid with paſſionate emphaſis, would be the man to adviſe the King of Spain, ſince his dominions were to be overwhelmed, at leaſt to have them ſeized with arms in his ſubjects' hands, and not to continue the paſſive victim he had hitherto appeared to be in the eyes of the world. It was time, he affirmed, for Spain to open her eyes, and not to ſuffer an ally, a neighbour and a friend, to receive the rigid laws impoſed by an inſulting victor. For this purpoſe he acknowledged, in reply to the requiſitions of the Engliſh Ambaſſador reſpecting the purport of the late treaty, that his Catholic Majeſty had judged it expedient to renew his "Family Compacts" with the Moſt Chriſtian King.

This ſudden alteration of language and of conduct the Ambaſſador aſcribed to the intelligence juſt received by the Court of Madrid, of the propoſition made by Mr. Pitt, and recently diſcuſſed in the Britiſh Cabinet, of an immediate declaration of war againſt Spain—a meaſure totally unexpected, and by which Spain, who conceived herſelf to be the injured party, was filled with indignation and aſtoniſhment. But the offence now given was not thought entitled to any political indulgence; and Lord Briſtol, in the ſubſequent diſpatch of Lord Egremont, was expreſsly commanded, in the name of his Britannic Majeſty, to demand of the Spaniſh Miniſter an immediate clear and categorical anſwer to the queſtion before ſtated; and to accompany this demand with an aſſurance, that any procraſtination, ambiguity or evaſion will be conſidered as ample and ſufficient ground for authorizing his Majeſty to take ſuch ſteps as his royal wiſdom ſhall dictate for the honor of his Crown, and the ſecurity of his people. At the ſame time the Ambaſſador is, with ludicrous inconſiſtency charged not to uſe any *harſhneſs of language* which can have the *leaſt tendency* to indiſpoſe or irritate the Spaniſh Court, or the Miniſter M. Wall—as if the language preſcribed to the Ambaſſador could poſſibly fail to produce that effect on the Caſtilian pride—but in caſe the ſatisfaction required was delayed or refuſed, his Excellency the Ambaſſador was ordered forthwith to quit Madrid, without taking leave, and repair with all convenient ſpeed to Liſbon. About the ſame time that the above diſpatch was tranſmittted by Lord Egremont to the Earl of Briſtol, a letter was written to his Lordſhip by the Ambaſſador, in which he ſtates, that General Wall had recovered his uſual temper; and that after an amicable diſcuſſion of the points in diſpute, enforced by long and diſpaſſionate reaſonings, they had parted with reciprocal proteſtations of their earneſt deſire to continue in peace—and a copy of the King's Speech to the new Parliament arriving about this period, the Spaniſh Miniſter highly applauded the candor and moderation diſplayed throughout the whole—aſſuring at the ſame time the Engliſh Ambaſſador, that he expected ſhortly to receive the Catholic King's commands to acquaint him with the reſolutions of Spain relative to his applications. But theſe flattering appearances entirely vaniſhed, when, in compliance with the expreſs inſtructions of the Engliſh Court, the Ambaſſador in peremptory terms demanded the categorical anſwer required in the laſt letter of the Earl of Egremont, declaring, in conformity to the orders he had received, that a refuſal, and even a delay of ſatisfaction would be deemed an aggreſſion on the part of the Court of Madrid, and regarded in no other light than as an abſolute declaration of war. "I cannot," ſays the Earl of Briſtol in his official diſpatch, "deſcribe the ſurpriſe M. Wall expreſſed at hearing this:—he only brought out theſe words, 'What is to follow? You have then orders to withdraw from hence?' Upon the Ambaſſador's acknowledgment that ſuch were his inſtructions, General Wall deſired him for greater preciſion to put in writing what he was ordered to demand, and, repairing to the palace of the Buen Retiro, he returned, after a ſhort interval, an anſwer from his catholic majeſty, in which the ambaſſador is told, "that the ſpirit of haughtineſs and diſcord which dictated this inconſiderate ſtep, and which for the misfortune of mankind ſtill reigns ſo much in the Britiſh government, is what made in the ſame inſtant the declaration of war and attacked the king's dignity—Your excellency may think of retiring when and in the manner convenient to you, which is the only anſwer his majeſty has directed me to give." Orders were ſent from Madrid to the count de Fuentes inſtantly to leave the court and kingdom of England, delivering firſt a memorial to the miniſters of the king of England, in which the war that the Spaniſh and Engliſh nations were about to plunge into, is attributed to the pride and immeaſurable ambition of him who lately held the reins of government in Great Britain. "If," ſaid the memorial, "his catholic majeſty excuſed himſelf from making the explanations required, it was to manifeſt his juſt reſentment of the inſulting manner in which the affairs of Spain have been treated during Mr. Pitt's adminiſtration, who, when the juſtice of his catholic majeſty's claims had been incontrovertibly proved, gave as his final anſwer, that he would not relax in any thing till the Tower of London was taken ſword in hand—If the reſpect due to royal majeſty had been regarded, explanations it was affirmed might have been had without difficulty. The miniſters of Spain might have ſaid frankly to thoſe of England, what the count de Fuentes by the king's expreſs orders declares publicly—That the ſaid treaty is only a convention between the family of Bourbon, wherein is nothing which has the leaſt relation to the preſent war.—That there is in it an article for the mutual guarantee of the dominions of the two ſovereigns, but it is ſpecified therein that this guarantee is not to be underſtood but of the dominions which ſhall remain to France after the preſent war ſhall be ended—That although his catholic majeſty might have had reaſon to think himſelf offended by the irregular manner in which the memorial for terminating the differences between Spain and England at the ſame time with the war betwixt this laſt and France, was returned to M. Buſſy, the king of Spain diſſembled, and from his love of peace cauſed a memorial to be delivered to lord Briſtol, wherein it is evidently demonſtrated, that the ſtep of France which put the miniſter Pitt into ſo bad humour, did not at all offend either the laws of neutrality or the ſincerity of the two ſovereigns—That as a freſh proof of his pacific ſpirit, the king of Spain wrote to the king of France his couſin, that if the union of intereſt in any manner retarded the peace with England, he conſented to ſeparate himſelf from it, not to put any obſtacle to ſo great a happineſs. But it was ſoon ſeen this was only a pretence on the part of the Engliſh miniſter: for that of France continuing his negotiations without making any mention of Spain, and propoſing conditions very advantageous and honorable for England, the miniſter Pitt, to the great aſtoniſhment of the univerſe, rejected them with diſdain, and ſhewed at the ſame time his ill will againſt Spain, to the ſcandal of the ſame Britiſh council; and unfortunately he has ſucceeded but too far in his pernicious deſign." This memorial ſerved to demonſtrate the ſuperior ſagacity of lord Briſtol, who declared, in the courſe of this negotiation, his firm belief that the treaty in queſtion contained no article injurious to the intereſts of England, although the prepoſterous pride of the Spaniſh court prevented any poſitive or ſatisfactory aſſurance being given on this head;—and the two nations, from an obſtinate adherence to a falſe and fooliſh punctilio of honor, found themſelves at length involved in a war, which they equally and anxiouſly wiſhed to avoid.

The preparations made for conducting the war againſt the united force of the houſe of Bourbon with vigor and effect, ſhewed that the ſpirit of Mr. Pitt, againſt whom rather than the king of Great Britain the declaration of the king of Spain ſeemed to be directed, ſtill influenced and animated the public counſels. The grand machine of government, once put into motion, continued for a time its progreſs with the ſame force and velocity as if ſtill guided by the powerful hand which firſt urged it into action. Letters of marque were iſſued and commiſſions granted for privateers to act againſt the ſubjects of his catholic majeſty; and at length, on the 4th January 1762, war was declared againſt Spain with the accuſtomed formalities.

The new parliament had been convened in the preceding month of November, and had choſen Sir John Cuſt, Bart. for their ſpeaker; a man not unworthy, from his extenſive knowledge and diſtinguiſhed probity, to fill the chair vacated by Mr. Onſlow. The choice being approved by the king, the ſeſſion was opened by a well-compoſed ſpeech from the throne, in which his majeſty expreſſed "his regret at the unſucceſsful termination of the late negotiation for peace, and his reſolution to proſecute the war in the moſt effectual manner, till the enemies of Great Britain, moved by their own loſſes, and touched with the miſeries of ſo many nations, ſhall yield to the equitable conditions of an honorable peace." Very loyal addreſſes were returned. About 240,000 ſeamen, landmen, and marines, including the German mercenaries, were voted for the ſervice of the year; and twelve millions borrowed to make up the deficiency of the regular means of ſupply. A jointure of 100,000l. per ann. was ſettled on the Queen, with the palaces of Richmond Old Park and Somerſet Houſe; and after paſſing a variety of acts not diſtinguiſhed for their peculiar merit or importance, the parliament was prorogued June 2, 1762.

Towards the concluſion of the preceding year, a plan had been formed for the conqueſt of the important iſland of Martinico, the principal of the French Caribbee iſlands, and the reſidence of the governor general and council, whoſe juriſdiction extends over all the French Antilles. This iſland is about 130 miles in circumference, and though the climate is ſultry, the ſoil is fertile, and the country pleaſantly diverſified with hill and dale, ſhaded with thick woods, and watered with numerous ſtreams. Its produce conſiſts of ſugar, indigo, coffee, cotton, ginger, aloes, and pimento; ſo that, with the exception of St. Domingo, it was at this period accounted the moſt populous and flouriſhing colony belonging to France in America. The armament deſtined for this expedition conſiſted of 18 ſhips of the line, and as many battalions of troops, under general Monckton and admiral Sir G. Rodney, who, rendezvouſing at Barbadoes, proceeded early in the month of January 1762 to Martinique; and on the 16th landed, after ſilencing the batteries erected on the coaſt in the vicinity of the town of Fort Royal, defended by a ſtrong citadel and various military works erected on the Morne Tortueſon and the Morne Garnier, neighboring heights which commanded the town. Theſe were ſoon forced by the intrepidity of the Engliſh troops, which on no occaſion diſplayed itſelf more conſpicuouſly than in the attack of this iſland. On the 4th of February, the commandant of the citadel ordered the chamade to be beat, and the garriſon was permitted to march out with the honors of war. But the governor general, M. de la Touche, retreated to the ſtrong fortreſs of St. Pierre, ſituated to the leeward of Fort Royal, which he at firſt ſeemed diſpoſed to defend with vigor; but on the 14th, deputies arrived with propoſals of capitulation for the whole iſland, and this important conqueſt was achieved with inconſiderable loſs. In the mean time commodore Swanton was detached from the fleet with a force ſufficient for the reduction of the iſland of Grenada and the Grenadines, which ſubmitted without reſiſtance, and proved in the hands of the Engliſh a very valuable acquiſition. At the ſame time, the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of the iſlands of St. Lucia, Tobago, and St. Vincent, which, though declared neutral by former treaties, had been for ſome time occupied by the French.

SPAIN, who meant certainly nothing farther than by the weight of her influence and too partial mediation, to procure for France more favorable terms of accommodation than were otherwiſe obtainable, found herſelf unexpectedly engaged as a principal in the war, for which ſhe was extremely unprepared. The marine of France, by repeated defeats, was broken, and almoſt ruined; whilſt the numerous fleets of Britain ſeemed to cover the ocean, and rode triumphant from the Ganges to the Miſſiſſippi—from the riſing to the ſetting ſun. The naval power of Spain was utterly unable to cope with this prodigious force. In one quarter only could England be conſidered as vulnerable. By an attack on Portugal, a kingdom in cloſe alliance with Great Britain, very open to invaſion, feeble, opulent, defenceleſs, Spain might reaſonably hope fully to indemnify herſelf for any loſſes ſhe might elſewhere ſuſtain. The military and heroic ſpirit by which the Portugueſe nation had been formerly characterized, was now no more; her privileged orders were ſunk in luxury —her people in ſloth, ignorance, and bigotry; her troops were deſtitute of diſcipline, her fortreſſes of artillery and ammunition. The recent deſtruction of her capital, the myſterious conſpiracy againſt the life of the monarch, the conſequent execution of her moſt diſtinguiſhed and popular nobles, the forcible expulſion of the jeſuits, and the entire alienation of the court of Liſbon from the ſee of Rome—all theſe cauſes, conjoined, had filled the kingdom with confuſion and diſcontent. In this ſituation it was doubtleſs imagined that Portugal would fall an eaſy prey to the arms of Spain, and great military preparations were made, and a large body of forces aſſembled on the frontiers of that kingdom.

On the 16th of March, 1762, a joint memorial was preſented by the ambaſſadors of France and Spain at the court of Liſbon, "inviting the king of Portugal to renounce his connection with Great Britain, and engage in the offenſive and defenſive alliance which they had formed againſt that inſolent and dangerous power." The catholic king profeſſing "the moſt cordial attachment to the intereſts of his moſt faithful majeſty, to whom he was ſo nearly allied, inſiſted that the Engliſh ſubjects reſident in Portugal ſhould be compelled to depart the kingdom, and the Engliſh ſhipping no longer be allowed ſhelter in her ports; declaring, that he ſhould immediately occupy with his troops the fortreſſes and maritime places belonging to his moſt faithful majeſty, to protect them from the reſentment of England." To this extraordinary requiſition, the ambaſſadors of the two courts demanded a categorical anſwer in four days. The king of Portugal replied, in very moderate and conciliatory language, "That he was ſincerely diſpoſed to act as mediator in compromiſing the preſent differences, but that the unfortunate ſtate of his kingdom would not allow him, were he ſo inclined, to engage as a principal in the war; that the honor of his crown, and the faith of ſolemn treaties, would not permit him to abandon the alliance of England; and that he was determined to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality, making thoſe preparations only which were neceſſary for his own defence."

In a ſecond memorial, dated April 1, the confederate powers declared, in a tone ſtill more imperious, "that his moſt faithful majeſty's alliance with England became in effect an offenſive alliance, from the ſituation of the Portugueſe dominions, and the nature of the Engliſh power; that the Britiſh ſquadrons could not keep the ſea without the uſe of the ports of his moſt faithful majeſty; that the riches of Portugal paſſed into the hands of the Engliſh; and they again invited him, ſince the differences between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, which had laid the foundation of the alliance with England, had been long ſince happily accommodated, to abandon that alliance, and enter into a ſtrict league of friendſhip with their chriſtian and catholic majeſties." The king of Portugal perſiſting in his refuſal of theſe overtures, the ambaſſadors of the two courts, after the delivery of a third memorial ſtill more inſolent and inſulting than the former, were ordered to leave the kingdom.*

On the 23d of May, 1762, war was declared by Portugal againſt Spain, the Spaniſh army having already paſſed the frontier. His moſt faithful majeſty having made previous and urgent ſolicitation to the court of London for aſſiſtance, it was determined to grant him the moſt ſpeedy and efficacious ſuccor, by the embarkation of a large body of troops under lord Tyrawley, a veteran officer, who had formerly reſided with high reputation as ambaſſador at the court of Liſbon, and who now united the different characters of plenipotentiary and general. The king of Portugal had conferred, at the recommendation of the king of England, the ſupreme command of his armies on the famous count de la Lippe Buckebourg, maſter-general of the artillery under prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, a man whoſe military talents were of the higheſt claſs, and who poſſeſſed all the heroic and romantic qualities which diſtinguiſhed and adorned the ages of chivalry. Lord Tyrawley returning ſoon to England, perhaps in diſguſt at this ſuperior appointment, the command of the Engliſh auxiliaries devolved on the earl of Loudon, under whom ſerved the generals Burgoyne, Crawford, Townſhend, and other officers of diſtinguiſhed merit and reputation.

In the beginning of May, 1762, the Spaniſh army under the marquis de Sarria paſſed the Douro, and inveſted the important city of Miranda. Unfortunately, at the very commencement of the ſiege, before the parallels were formed, or the batteries planted, the grand magazine of the fortreſs, taking fire by accident, blew up with a tremendous exploſion, occaſioning the loſs of near 500 lives, and making moreover two large and practicable breaches in the walls. In conſequence of this misfortune, the city was immediately given up, and the garriſon made priſoners of war. Braganza was next attacked; but ſuch was the conſternation of the Portugueze, that the keys of the town were preſented without any attempt at reſiſtance to the Spaniſh commander. The city of Chaves, though provided with all the means of defence, was ſurpriſed at the ſame time by a ſeparate detachment under count O'Reilly. The Southern army, commanded by the count d'Aranda, being joined by 8000 French auxiliaries, entered the province of Eſtremadura, and opened the trenches before Almedia in July: after a much better defence than had hitherto been made, that city was compelled to capitulate on the 25th of Auguſt. On the arrival of the count de la Lippe, Liſbon the metropolis, and Oporto the ſecond city of the kingdom, were expoſed to imminent danger. But that general, knowing the moſt effectual mode of waging a defenſive war to be the converting it as far as poſſible into an offenſive one, determined to carry the arms of Portugal into the kingdom of Spain. An enterprize againſt the city of Alcantara, where conſiderable magazines were forming, was reſolved upon, and brigadier-general Burgoyne was appointed to the command of the entire force collected for this purpoſe. This officer paſſing the Tagus at midnight, reached Alcantara at the dawn of day, and, attacking with great reſolution the enemy poſted in the vicinity, and unſuſpicious of danger, totally routed them with very inconſiderable loſs. A great quantity of arms and ammunition fell into the hands of the victors. Amongſt the priſoners was the Spaniſh major-general Don Miguel D'Iruniberri, who was preparing for an expedition into the Portugueze province of Alentejo. The count d' Aranda, having reduced, after the ſurrender of Almedia, the fortreſſes of Caſtel Rodrigo and Caſtel Branco, attempted to force a paſſage through the mountains, intending to croſs the Tagus at Villa Velha, a poſt defended by general Burgoyne, who lay encamped on the ſouthern bank of the river. The old Mooriſh caſtle of Villa Velha, on the northern bank, though gallantly defended, was at length compelled to ſurrender, and the paſſes of the mountains gained. But the enemy having weakened their force at Villa Velha, in order to purſue their advantage in the oppoſite quarter, general Burgoyne ordered a detachment under lieutenant colonel Lee to ford the Tagus in the night, and attack the Spaniards in their camp. This enterprize was executed with equal ſpirit and ſucceſs. A great number of the Spaniſh Officers were ſlain in attempting to rally their troops; their cannon were ſpiked, their magazines deſtroyed, and much valuable plunder became the property of the aſſailants. The Spaniards being repeatedly foiled in their deſigns of paſſing the Tagus, by the ſkill and vigilance of the commander, count de la Lippe, and embarraſſed alſo in their operations by the heavy rains which fell at this period, at length repaſſed the mountains, and entirely evacuated the province of Eſtremadura, firſt diſmantling the fortifications of Almeida and Caſtel Rodrigo.

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* The political and moral reflections of the king of Pruſſia, in ſpeaking of this procedure of the kings of France and Spain reſpecting Portugal, muſt be acknowledged very edifying; and it is unfortunate that the ſame mode of reaſoning did not happen to occur to him previous to his ſucceſſive invaſions of Sileſia, Saxony, and Poland. "Pourquoi," ſays the Royal Hiſtorian, "attaquer le Roi de Portugal, qui n'avoit offenſé perſonne? ſur le royaume duquel ni l' Eſpagne ni la France n'avoient des droits? C'étoit le commerce lucratif que l' Angleterre faiſoit en Portugal que la France vouloit ruiner. D'ailleurs elle étoit perſuadée que les Anglois auroient rendu la meilleure partie de leur conquêts pour faire reſtituer ce royaume au Roi de Portugal. Mais eſt-ce une raiſon pour attaquer un Souverain qui n'en donne aucune raiſon legitime? O droit public, que ton étude eſt vain et inutile!"—HISTOIRE DE LA GUERRE DE SEPT ANS.

No ſooner was war declared by England againſt Spain, than preparations began to be made for a grand, but as yet unknown enterprize; and in the beginning of March 1762, a very powerful armament ſailed from Portſmouth, under the conduct of admiral Sir George Pococke, the earl of Albemarle commanding the land forces on board. At the beginning of June, they arrived off the iſland of Cuba, and the troops were landed ſix miles to the eaſtward of the Havanna, a city of the utmoſt importance to the ſecurity and almoſt the exiſtence of the Spaniſh empire in America, as being the port where the galleons and flota loaded with the riches of Mexico and Peru conſtantly rendezvouſed on their return to Spain, and, from its ſituation, abſolutely commanding the only commodious paſſage by which theſe ſhips could ſail from the bay of Mexico to Europe; the windward paſſage, by Carthagena, not being practicable without infinite trouble, loſs of time, and danger from an enemy who is decidedly ſuperior at ſea. This city was protected, excluſive of other works, by a very ſtrong caſtle called the Moro, againſt which the principal attack of the earl of Albemarle was directed. It was however bravely defended by the Spaniſh governor Don Lewis de Velaſco; and the ſiege being protracted beyond expectation, ſickneſs began to make its ravages amongſt the beſiegers. On the 30th of July, therefore, although the breaches made were deemed ſcarcely practicable, an aſſault was determined upon, and the troops mounting with the utmoſt intrepidity, drove the enemy from the ramparts; and after a ſhort but fierce and bloody conflict, the Spaniards were compelled to lay down their arms and petition for quarter. Don Velaſco, animated with all the genuine Caſtilian heroiſm, fell by a promiſcuous ſhot, whilſt inciting his troops, both by his exhortation and example, to ſupport the glory of the Spaniſh arms. Notwithſtanding the conqueſt of the Moro, the city held out till the 13th of Auguſt, when the governor capitulated, on condition of being allowed to march out with all the honors of war, and to have, with his whole garriſon, a free and unmoleſted conveyance to Spain. In the capitulation was included twelve line-of-battle ſhips then lying in the harbor of the Havanna; great quantities of ammunition and warlike ſtores likewiſe fell into the hands of the victors, who found in the city prodigious quantities of merchandize of various kinds and an immenſe treaſure in ſpecie. This therefore was a blow, which, at the very commencement of the war, ſtruck deep into the vitals of the Spaniſh power.

No ſooner was the intelligence of the Spaniſh war conveyed to the Eaſt Indies, than an armament ſpeedily equipped, under the conduct of admiral Corniſh and Sir William

Draper, ſailed from Madraſs, deſtined againſt Luconia, the principal of the Philippine iſlands, of which the chief city is Manilla, whence two large ſhips are ſent annually acroſs the Pacific Ocean to Acapulco, on the coaſt of Mexico, laden with the ſpices, ſilks, and other precious products of India.

On the 23d of September 1762, the whole armament, having on board a land force, including Laſcars, Sepoys, and other irregular troops, amounting to about two thouſand five hundred men, anchored in the bay of Manilla, where they excited great and general alarm. After effecting a landing with little loſs, the city was ſummoned to ſurrender; but the marquis de Villa Medina, the governor, returned a reſolute refuſal. The Engliſh were far from being in a condition to form a complete inveſtment of the city, which was of great extent and ſtrongly fortified. The quarter which the General determined to attack was defended by the baſtions of St. Diego and St. Andrew, a ravelin, a wet foſſé thirty yards in breadth, a covered way, and a glacis. At the beginning of October the weather grew very ſtormy and tempeſtuous; notwithſtanding which the beſiegers carried on their works with unintermitted ardor. A furious ſally was on the 4th made from the town before day-break, in which the regular troops of the forts were reinforced by a ſtrong body of the native Indians, armed only with bows and lances, who fought with aſtoniſhing perſeverance—advancing to the very muzzles of the Engliſh muſquets, and with wild and ſavage ferocity biting the bayonets even in the agonies of death. They were finally repulſed with great loſs; and the works being by this time much damaged, a reſolution was taken to ſtorm the town.

Though no offer of capitulation had been made, the garriſon ſeemed ill prepared to ſuſtain an aſſault, and the Engliſh penetrated into the very centre of the city with little oppoſition. The governor retiring into the citadel, the town was expoſed for ſome hours to all the horrors of a general pillage. At length, the citadel being in no condition of defence, the marquis de Villa Medina, the archbiſhop of Manilla, and the officers of the garriſon, ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war; at the ſame time propoſing a capitulation to ſave the city from total deſtruction. After ſome diſcuſſion, a ranſom of four millions of dollars was offered, and accepted. The port and citadel of Cavite, with the iſlands and fortreſſes depending on the government of Manilla, being included in the capitulation, the whole force of the Engliſh ſcarcely ſufficed to garriſon their conqueſts.

Intelligence being received of the expected arrival of an Acapulco ſhip, the admiral ſent the Panther and Argo ſhips of war in queſt of her, who fell in with the Santa Trinidada, bound for Mexico, pierced for ſixty guns, with merchandiſe on board to the amount of three millions of dollars. This was not the only regiſter-ſhip taken in the courſe of this war from the Spaniards—the St. Hermione, from Lima to Cadiz, being captured by two Britiſh frigates cruiſing off Cape St. Vincent. Her cargo was eſtimated at one million ſterling, being ſuppoſed the richeſt prize ever brought into the harbors of Britain.

Amongſt the military and naval achievements of the preſent year, it may be proper tranſiently to notice the recovery of the town and fort of St. John, in the iſland of Newfoundland (ſome months before ſurpriſed and ſurrendered to the French), by lord Colville and colonel Amherſt, who, ſailing from the harbor of Halifax, by their ſpirited exertions anticipated the effect of an armament fitted out expreſsly for this purpoſe at Portſmouth.

It will now be proper to reſume the long neglected narration of the civil and domeſtic tranſactions of Great Britain. On the reſignation of Mr. Pitt, the entire direction of affairs was veſted in the earl of Bute, who enjoyed the favor, affection, and confidence of the ſovereign, in a degree which no miniſter ſince the Earl of Clarendon in the zenith of his power had poſſeſſed. He had not, however, as yet attained the ſummit of his ambition. The duke of Newcaſtle ſtill held the high and pre-eminent office of firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, but this poſt the FAVORITE now thought he might ſafely aſſume. The duke of Newcaſtle, therefore, at the latter end of May 1762, the ſeſſion of parliament being nearly cloſed, received an intimation that his reſignation was expected. His grace was informed, that the king purpoſed, in conſideration of his paſt ſervices, to grant him an ample and adequate penſion. But the duke, whoſe generoſity bordered upon negligence and profuſion, nobly replied, "that if he could no longer be permitted to ſerve his country, he was at leaſt determined not to be a burden to it."

The diſmiſſion of this nobleman, who had been ever diſtinguiſhed for the zeal and fidelity of his attachment to the houſe of Hanover, and who had impaired his fortune and devoted his life to the ſupport of that cauſe in which he had been from his early youth engaged, excited extreme indignation in the breaſts of the whole whig party, amongſt whom his ſteadineſs, affability and diſintereſtedneſs made him, notwithſtanding the mediocrity of his talents, exceedingly popular. It was thought a complication of levity and ingratitude thus to diſcard an old and faithful ſervant, who in the courſe of nature could not be expected long to trouble any competitor; and it diſcovered ſuch an impatience in the new miniſter to engroſs an abſolute monopoly of power, as gave countenance to ſuſpicions of deep and dangerous deſigns. The duke, who had been treated with a flattering degree of perſonal attention, or at leaſt with a reſpectful decorum and civility, ſo long as his name was deemed neceſſary by the projectors of the new ſyſtem, appeared himſelf highly to reſent the rude and compulſive mode of his diſmiſſion; and he heſitated not again to connect himſelf with Mr. Pitt, for many years his alternate rival and aſſociate; with whom he had never indeed entered into any very cordial alliance, but their mutual animoſity againſt the earl of Bute now formed a new bond of amity and concord between them.

The duke of Devonſhire, ſoon after the removal of the duke of Newcaſtle, unable to brook the marked and contemptuous neglect which he experienced, reſigned indignantly his office of lord chamberlain, and was by the king's own hand ſtruck out of the liſt of the privy council. The earl of Hardwicke retired in diſguſt; and the duke of Grafton, lord Ravenſworth, and lord Aſhburnham, with ſeveral other noblemen of high diſtinction, now ranged themſelves on the ſide of the oppoſition. Lord Anſon was ſucceeded at this period in the admiralty by the earl of Halifax, recently returned from the government of Ireland, in which he was ſucceeded by the duke of Northumberland; and Mr George Grenville was advanced to the ſecretaryſhip vacated by the earl of Bute. But in a ſhort time this order of things was reverſed: Lord Halifax took the ſeals, and Mr. Grenville was placed at the head of the admiralty. No political conflict however could take place before the enſuing winter, and the ſummer months paſſed over in angry and ineffectual diſcontent.

On the 12th of Auguſt *, a day auſpicious to the houſe of Brunſwic, as the æra of its acceſſion to the throne of Great Britain—auſpicious alſo to the kingdom at large, whilſt the principles of liberty civil and religious, on which that acceſſion was founded, continue to be the rule of their government—the nation was gladdened by the birth of a prince of Wales, whoſe aim, whoſe ſtudy, and whoſe pride may it be to eſtabliſh, extend, and improve that free and happy conſtitution of which he is the hereditary guardian and defender!

The firſt and greateſt object of the new miniſter, now honored, by a flattering aſſociation with the duke of York firſt

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* 1762.

firſt prince of the blood, with the order of the garter, after his open aſſumption of the office and authority of premier, was the reſtoration of peace—a laudable and noble deſign, but attended with very conſiderable difficulty. The majority of the nation, elated or rather intoxicated with ſucceſs, were eager for the continuance of the war, in the ſanguine hope of new victories. Already graſping in their golden dreams the treaſures of Mexico and Peru, they appeared wholly regardleſs of the immenſe ſums annually added to the national debt, and of the oppreſſive taxes neceſſarily impoſed for diſcharging the intereſt of the ſucceſſive loans—not reflecting that every rational purpoſe of the war had been long ſince obtained, and that additional conqueſts were in fact only additional incumbrances.

Excluſive of this prevailing and popular folly, the premier had given extreme diſguſt by the general tenor of his conduct, proud, artful, and ſelfiſh; and by the indecent and precipitate meaſures which he adopted to expel all the members of the late adminiſtration from their poſts, and to intrude himſelf and his partiſans into all the efficient and reſponſible offices of government.

A powerful party, compoſed of men the moſt diſtinguiſhed for rank, influence, and ability, was now formed in oppoſition to the miniſter; and this oppoſition was openly countenanced by the duke of Cumberland, uncle to the king, who had never connected himſelf with the tory or country party in oppoſition to the court in the late reign, and who had imbibed the whig principles and prejudices in their full extent. Upon whatever terms the peace might be concluded, it was not to be imagined that ſatisfaction could be given to the political antagoniſts of the miniſter, who would not fail to repreſent it as inadequate to the ſucceſſes of the war, if not inconſiſtent with the intereſt, and diſgraceful to the reputation, of England.

Theſe conſiderations did not however deter the miniſter from cauſing ſecret intimations to be given, that the revival of the ineffectual negotiation of the laſt year would be not unacceptable; and the king of Sardinia was ſolicited to offer his mediation for this purpoſe. The court of Verſailles readily embracing the overtures now made by England, the Duc de Nivernois arrived in London, in the month of September, inveſted with the character of ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the king of Great Britain; and the duke of Bedford, a nobleman diſtinguiſhed for honor and probity, and who had ſucceſſively occupied the high offices of ſecretary of ſtate, firſt lord of the admiralty, lord privy ſeal, and lord lieutenant of Ireland, was delegated in the ſame capacity, inveſted with the ſame diplomatic diſtinctions, to the court of France. And the negotiators being actuated by a mutual anxiety for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, preliminaries were ſigned and interchanged at Fontainebleau, in the beginning of November 1762, between the miniſters of Great Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal.

On the 25th of November the parliament was convened; and the king, in his ſpeech from the throne, informed the two houſes "that the preliminary articles were actually ſigned, on terms which he repreſented as very advantageous to England; and he recommended that union at home, which was ſo neceſſary to the adoption of thoſe meaſures which could alone relieve the nation from the heavy burdens entailed upon it by the proſecution of a long and expenſive war." When the addreſs in reply came under the conſideration of the houſe of commons, Mr. Pitt, in a long and elaborate ſpeech, expreſſed his entire diſapprobation of the tenor of the treaty, which he ſtigmatized as impolitic, and derogatory to the honor and intereſts of the kingdom. He was determined, afflicted as he was with illneſs, at the hazard of his life, he ſaid, to attend the houſe that day—to raiſe up his voice, his hand, and his arm againſt the preliminary articles of a treaty, which obſcured all the glories of the war, ſurrendered the deareſt intereſts of the nation, and ſacrificed the public faith by an abandonment of our allies. He was anſwered at large by Mr. Fox, who, although he continued to occupy only the ſubordinate poſt of Paymaſter of the Army, was, at this time, the ableſt advocate of Adminiſtration in the Houſe of Commons; and after a warm and ample diſcuſſion, the addreſs, as propoſed by the partiſans of the court, paſſed the Houſe by a great majority of voices.

In the Houſe of Lords the miniſter himſelf vindicated the treaty, with a ſpirit and energy which was not expected; and he concluded his ſpeech with declaring, "that he wiſhed no other epitaph to be inſcribed on his tomb, than that he was the adviſer of the peace, on the merits of which their Lordſhips were then called upon to decide." Notwithſtanding the arguments and objections of the peers in oppoſition, the addreſs paſſed in this Houſe alſo by a ſimilar majority. And in juſtice to the Earl of Bute, the impartiality of hiſtory will acknowledge that this famous peace, ſo much and ſo long the ſubject of declamation and invective, was in fact liable to no ſolid or ſerious objection*.

Had the miniſter been as indifferent to the re-eſtabliſhment of the public tranquillity as his predeceſſor Mr. Pitt, it is poſſible indeed that ſome farther conceſſions of very doubtful advantage to England might have been obtained, or rather extorted, from the adverſe parties; but his ſolicitude for the attainment of that great and deſirable object did not prevent him from diſcerning and adopting the neceſſary proviſions for ſecuring all the eſſential intereſts of Great Britain. By this treaty the entire province of Canada was ceded and guarantied to the Engliſh, with all that part of Louiſiana which is ſituated to the eaſt of the great river Miſſiſippi, together with Cape Breton, and the

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* The moſt plauſible objection to the treaty was the ceſſion of the iſland of St. Lucie to France; the importance of which, from its ſituation and excellent harbor, ſeems indeed to have been better underſtood by the French than the Engliſh negotiators. Mr. Pitt had poſitively refuſed, in his negotiation with Mr. Buſſy, to cede St. Lucie to France.

the other iſlands in the gulph and river of St. Laurence. In the Weſt Indies, the iſland of Grenada and the Grenadines were ceded to England, in full right; alſo, of the neutral iſlands, Dominique, St. Vincent, and Tobago. In Africa, Senegal with its dependencies is guarantied to England. In the Eaſt Indies, his moſt chriſtian majeſty acknowledges Mahomed Aly Khan, as nabob of the Carnatic; and Salabat Zing, as ſubah of the Decan—renouncing all acquiſitions made on the coaſt of Coromandel ſince the year 1749, and engaging not to erect fortifications in any part of the kingdom of Bengal. In Europe, he agrees to reſtore Minorca in the ſame condition as when conquered by the arms of the moſt chriſtian king. He conſents that the harbor and fortifications of Dunkirk ſhall be demoliſhed. Finally, he ſtipulates that the territories belonging to the elector of Hanover, the landgrave of Heſſe, &c. now occupied by the armies of France, ſhall be *evacuated*, together with the fortreſſes of Cleves, Weſel, Gueldres, &c. belonging to the king of Pruſſia; and the two monarchs of France and England engage not to furniſh ſuccors of any kind to their reſpective allies in Germany. The difficult queſtion relative to the validity of the prizes captured before the declaration of war, is paſſed over in profound and diſcreet ſilence.

The king of Spain on his part cedes and guaranties in full right to England the eaſtern and weſtern Floridas, and in general all that Spain poſſeſſes on the continent of America, to the eaſt or to the ſouth-eaſt of the Miſſiſippi; in conſequence of which important ceſſion, in conjunction with that of the eaſtern part of Louiſiana, and the entire province of Canada, an immenſe country, capable of unlimited improvement, and bounded by a line of demarcation the moſt clear and definite, was gained to the empire of Britain. His catholic majeſty alſo relinquiſhes for himſelf and his ſucceſſors all pretenſions which he may have formed to the right of fiſhing on the banks of Nefoundland. He confirms and eſtabliſhes for ever the privilege or indulgence enjoyed by the Engliſh of cutting logwood on the coaſt of Honduras, ſtipulating only, that no fortifications ſhall be erected upon the territorial dominions of Spain. Finally, his catholic majeſty engages entirely to evacuate, on the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty, all the lands, cities, and caſtles, belonging to his moſt faithful majeſty, in the ſame condition they were in when conquered by the arms of Spain.

In return for theſe great and important ceſſions, Great Britain engages to reſtore to France, in Europe, the iſland of Belleiſle—in Africa, the iſland of Goree—in the Weſt Indies, the iſlands of Guadaloupe, Martinique, and St. Lucie—in the Eaſt Indies, Pondicherri and Chandernagore. The right of France to fiſh on the banks of Newfoundland is recognized, and the ſmall iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon are ceded as a ſhelter for the fiſhermen. The fortreſs of the Havannah, and the other acquiſitions of England, without reſerve, including the recent and as yet unaſcertained conqueſt of the Manillas, are reſtored to Spain.

A great obſtacle to the concluſion of the treaty had been removed by the alteration which had taken place in the politics of England reſpecting the king of Pruſſia, and in the beneficial change in the ſituation of that monarch, who had now concluded a peace with Ruſſia and Sweden, and to whom notice had been already given, that the annual ſubſidy treaty would be no more renewed. The territories of Pruſſia occupied by the French being evacuated, that monarch had, however, upon the face of the treaty of Fontainebleau, no juſt ground of complaint, his native force being equal to his own defence againſt the Houſe of Auſtria; or, if it were not, England was under no obligation farther to exhauſt her treaſures in order to defend him. Both parties being however weary of a war which had been ſo long continued with alternate loſs and advantage, they ſoon came to terms of accommodation*.

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* If, however, the teſtimony of the king of Pruſſia may be confided in, that monarch had great reaſon to complain of what he ſtyles the "odious" conduct of the Engliſh court, from the æra that lord Bute's influence began to predominate. It muſt indeed be acknowledged, that England by her alliance with Pruſſia was placed in circumſtances ſo embarraſſing, that it was very difficult, or, to ſpeak the truth, wholly impracticable, at once to conſult the intereſts and to maintain the honor of the kingdom. To continue the war for the ſole purpoſe of compelling France to RESTORE Cleves, Weſel, and Gueldres, to the king of Pruſſia—a condition to which France, equally perplexed by her engagements with the court of Vienna, could not without extreme diſgrace ſubmit—would, on the part of England, have been carrying the point of honor to a degree of romantic extravagance. On the other hand, entirely to abandon the intereſts of the king of Pruſſia with the cold unfeeling apathy of Lord Bute, which the warmth of reſentment expreſſed in the remonſtrances of the court of Berlin ſeems at length to have converted into abſolute malignity, can never be reconciled to our ideas of good faith, and much leſs to any ſentiment of national dignity and generoſity.

The king of Pruſſia, in evident alluſion and intentional contraſt to the character of the reigning monarch, ſays of the late king George II.—"Il termina ſon regne glorieux par une mort douce et prompte. Ce prince, entr'autres bonnes qualités, avoit une fermeté héroique, *qui faiſoit que ſes alliés pouvoient prendre une confiance entière en ſa perſonne.*" Speaking of the ſtate of affairs on the conſequent acceſſion of the new monarch, he ſays, "Deux hommes ſe trouvoient à la tête de ce gouvernement. L'un étoit PITT; il avoit l'ame élevée, un eſprit capable de grands projets, de la fermeté dans l'exécution, un attachement inflexible à ſes opinions, parcequ'il les croyoit avantageuſes à ſa patrie, qu'il aimoit. L'autre c'étoit BUTE; il avoit été gouverneur du roi. Plus ambitieux qu'habile, il vouloit dominer à *l'ombre de l'autorité ſouveraine.*" After Mr. Pitt, finding the abſolute aſcendant acquired by his antagoniſt, had retired from court, to uſe the expreſſion of the royal hiſtorian, "plein d'indignation," the miniſter Bute not only refuſed to renew the ſubſidy, but actually made propoſitions to the emperor Peter the third, through the medium of prince Gallitzin, to prevent his concluding a ſeparate peace with Pruſſia. The emperor ſent a copy of Prince Gallitzin's diſpatch to the king of Pruſſia, in order that he might be apprized of the *treachery* of the Engliſh court. Lord Bute alſo made ſecret advances to the court of Vienna, offering very liberally the ſpoils of Pruſſia to the empreſs queen, in caſe ſhe was diſpoſed to come to an accommodation; but prince Kaunitz, in the name of the empreſs, declared, "that ſhe would accept of no peace of which England was the mediatrix." The Engliſh miniſter had, as the king of Pruſſia affirms, no *ſcruple* to permit France to keep poſſeſſion of the countries of Cleves, Weſel, and Gueldres, though it was at length agreed that they ſhould be *evacuated*; after which, as lord Bute heſitated not to expreſs himſelf in the houſe of peers, "they were to be *ſcrambled* for." And on the ſigning of the preliminaries, large bodies of Auſtrians and Pruſſians were actually beginning their march to the Weſtphalian frontier, in order to diſpute the poſſeſſion. But France, alarmed at the idea of a war in the Low Countries, thought proper to aſſent to the *reſtoration* of theſe territories, on condition that Pruſſia ſhould agree to ſign a treaty of neutrality for the Netherlands. But, before this neutrality could take effect, the treaty of Hubertſburg was concluded. The change of miniſters and counſels which took place at the acceſſion of the preſent king, excited ſcarcely leſs aſtoniſhment abroad than the diſmiſſion of the famous Whig Adminiſtration of Queen Anne half a century before.

Vide Œuvres du Roi de Pruſſe.

Although the peace of Fontainebleau was almoſt univerſally unpopular in the nation at large, the decided approbation of the parliament ſeemed to enſure the permanency of the miniſter's power; and the real intrinſic merits of the treaty, with the beneficial conſequences neceſſarily reſulting from the reſtoration of peace, might reaſonably be ſuppoſed gradually to conciliate the minds of the public. But other cauſes of diſſatisfaction ſoon aroſe, which heightened almoſt to phrenſy the popular odium againſt the miniſter and the court, and converted the national ebullitions of diſcontent into a tempeſt of faction, which moſt alarmingly agitated, and in the progreſs of its fury ſeemed at one period to threaten ſcarcely leſs than the abſolute wreck and deſtruction of the *political veſſel**.

In the courſe of the ſeſſion it was found neceſſary, the increaſing expence of the war having left an immenſe arrear of debt, to negotiate a new loan to a very large amount; for diſcharging the intereſt of which, amongſt other taxes a duty was moved by the chancellor of the exchequer of four ſhillings upon every hogſhead of cider, to be paid by the maker, and with certain qualifications ſubjected to all the laws of exciſe. No ſooner was this moſt unpopular, and therefore moſt imprudent, propoſition brought forward, than the oppoſition, eager and joyful to embrace ſo inviting an opportunity of attack, opened all their batteries againſt it. Certain of the ſupport and concurrence of the nation at large, they inveighed with great plauſibility and vehemence againſt this extenſion of a ſyſtem reprobated as oppreſſive, arbitrary, and odious. The arguments by which the nation had been ſo much inflamed thirty years before, at the period when Sir Robert Walpole attempted to carry into effect his famous project, were now revived, and anew enforced.

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* In comparing the brilliant and auſpicious commencement of the reign of the preſent monarch with the dark and dreadful ſcenes which enſued (and it is painful to add, with thoſe which at a much more advanced period ſeem yet impending), the imagination is led forcibly to advert to the ſublime ſymbolical repreſentations introduced by a poet of the higheſt order, Mr. Gray, into his celebrated ode of the BARD, in alluſion to the cataſtrophe terminating the reign of Richard II.; in the ſplendor of its opening dawn, and its ſubſequent *fatal indiſcretions*, bearing no very diſtant analogy to the preſent.

> Fair laughs the morn, and ſoft the zephyr blows;
> While proudly riding o'er the azure realm
> In gallant trim the gilded veſſel goes;
> Youth at the prow, and Pleaſure at the helm;
> Regardleſs of the ſweeping whirlwind's ſway,
> That huſh'd in grim repoſe expects his evening prey.

The clamor againſt the cider bill became loud and general; and the city of London preſented, at the bar of the houſe of commons, a petition againſt it. The bill, nevertheleſs, paſſed both houſes by conſiderable majorities, though in the houſe of lords 43 peers divided, and two proteſts were ſigned againſt it. When it lay ready for the royal ſanction, the city of London, rather to expreſs its deteſtation of the bill than from any hope of ſucceſs, petitioned the crown to refuſe its aſſent. In the cider counties the abhorrence of the meaſure was ſo general, that it was found very difficult to carry the act into execution; and it appears indeed to have been conſidered by impartial perſons as liable to objections not applicable to other branches of the exciſe revenue. Still, however, it cannot be juſtly doubted, that the duties of exciſe, levied on the proper objects, and guarded from abuſe by juſt and equitable regulations, conſtitute incomparably the faireſt, the eaſieſt, the moſt productive of all the various modes of national taxation. But a wiſe government will and ought to conſult the general temper and diſpoſition of the people in all the meaſures of government, and more eſpecially in the manner of raiſing the national ſupplies. For when a ſpecific revenue is to be exacted by the ſupreme authority of the ſtate, it is ſurely no exceſſive indulgence to permit them to pay it in the manner moſt agreeable, though in reality leaſt advantageous to themſelves. All that the wiſdom and beneficence of government united can do in ſuch a caſe, is to introduce by gradual and inſenſible ſteps to the amelioration of any actually exiſting ſyſtem, however clearly perceived to be abſurd and pernicious. In the preſent inſtance, though the object was comparatively trivial, though the arguments urged againſt it were forcible, and the oppoſition general, the miniſter, who entertained doubtleſs very different ideas of political wiſdom from his predeceſſor Sir Robert Walpole, reſolved, with that obſtinate inflexibility which is ſo often miſtaken for dignity and firmneſs, to perſevere; and the bill finally paſſed into a law.

But ſcarcely was this favorite meaſure carried into execution, when the kingdom was aſtoniſhed with the intelligence of the reſignation of the miniſter, who having, as he boaſted, reſtored peace to the world, forfeited no engagement, abandoned no friend, and formed a miniſterial connection ſo powerful as no longer to need his aſſiſtance, was now determined, by retiring "to the bleſſings of the life he loved," to demonſtrate that miniſterial greatneſs had for him no charms. All his political purpoſes he had completely attained; and, by voluntarily diveſting himſelf of his public authority, he was ſolicitous to ſhow, that in his private capacity he dared the utmoſt malice and vengeance of his enemies. Theſe motives were however of a nature by which men even the moſt virtuous, and particularly ſtateſmen, are ſo rarely actuated, that little credit was given by the public at large to profeſſions of moderation and diſintereſtedneſs ſo inconſiſtent with thoſe meaſures of alternate artifice and violence, by which the late miniſter had attained to the ſummit of that power and greatneſs to which he now pretended a frigid and philoſophical indifference. It was affirmed with boldneſs by his enemies, and faintly controverted by his friends, that, although his pride would not ſuffer him to recede from a meaſure he had once adopted, he found himſelf on the paſſing of the late unpopular act in a ſituation which he had neither the ability nor the fortitude to ſuſtain. Conſcious that he was the object of the general abhorrence—that alone to him was imputed the diſmiſſion of the late popular and patriotic miniſters—that he was charged with having betrayed the intereſts of the nation by the late *ſhameful* treaty of peace—that he had abuſed the confidence of his ſovereign by introducing a ſyſtem of *favoritiſm* into the adminiſtration of affairs—that his partiality to his countrymen the Scots was groſs and palpable—that he had ſacrificed the honor of the king and kingdom abroad, by abandoning to his fate our ally the king of Pruſſia—and that by the general tenor of his domeſtic policy he had given clear proof of his intention to eſtabliſh a plan of deſpotiſm at home—conſcious that theſe charges, whether well or ill founded, were almoſt univerſally believed, and that he ſtood on that pinnacle of power from which he might be ſuddenly plunged into the gulph of political perdition, it was no wonder in circumſtances ſo perilous that he wiſhed, while yet within his reach, to ſecure a ſafe and honorable retreat; and knowing his influence over the mind of his ſovereign to exiſt in undiminiſhed force, it would be eaſy for him at a more propitious ſeaſon openly to re-aſſume the direction of affairs, or, which better accorded with the myſtery and artifice pervading his whole character and conduct, whoever might be permitted to occupy the oſtenſible poſts, ſecretly to guide the reins of government, and thus to enjoy the reality of miniſterial power without ſubjecting himſelf to the reſponſibility conſtitutionally attached to it.

To the earl of Bute ſucceeded as firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, Mr. George Grenville, brother to earl Temple, a man accurately verſed in the routine of buſineſs, practiſed in all the punctilios of form, and the minutiæ of office; open and affable in his manners; not deficient in probity, although ambitious of diſtinction. But though his abilities were of a claſs to entitle him in a ſubordinate ſtation to reſpect, he was utterly deſtitute of thoſe commanding talents, that intuitive ſagacity, and intellectual comprehenſion, which mark the man whom nature ſeems to have deſtined to the government of empires.

On the death of lord Egremont, which took place nearly at this period, the ſeals were given to the earl of Sandwich;

wich; the earl of Egremont was advanced to the head of the admiralty; and the duke of Bedford, now returned from his embaſſy to Paris, was appointed preſident of the council in the room of the famous earl Granville, who had for many years paſt, and to the cloſe of life, under all the changing viciſſitudes of power, occupied with the higheſt reputation that honorable exalted office. In conſequence of the retreat of the earl of Bute, a general coalition of parties ſeemed now to be again practicable, and overtures to that purpoſe were made to Mr. Pitt, and the other leaders in oppoſition: but after repeated conferences, the negotiations terminated ineffectually; the king declaring, that the terms inſiſted on by Mr. Pitt were incompatible with his dignity, and of a nature to which he could not in honor accede: and the new adminiſtration ſeemed reſolved to refer to the deciſion of experience, whether they were not competent, by their own unaſſiſted ſtrength, in defiance of all oppoſition both in and out of Parliament, to eſtabliſh an efficient Government[*].

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[*] Lord Bute had a conference, by his own particular deſire and requeſt, with Mr. Pitt, Auguſt 25, 1763. He acknowledged to Mr. Pitt, that the preſent adminiſtration was too weak to continue; and intimated, that the king wiſhed to arrange a new adminiſtration with the advice and concurrence of Mr. Pitt. On Saturday the 27th, Mr. Pitt waited by command on his majeſty, at the queen's palace. The conference laſted three hours, in the courſe of which Mr. Pitt delivered his ſentiments on men and things very freely to his majeſty; repreſenting the preſent degraded ſituation of the kingdom both foreign and domeſtic; that the great whig families had been driven from his majeſty's councils and ſervice; and that it would be equally the intereſt of his majeſty and the nation to reſtore them. The king hearkened with complacency; and upon the renewal of the conferenee on Monday, Mr. Pitt again enforced theſe topics, ſaying, that affairs could not be carried on without the great families who have ſupported the revolution government, and others, of whoſe abilities and integrity the public has had experience. "I ſhould only deceive your majeſty if I ſhould leave you in an opinion that I could go on, and your majeſty form a ſolid adminiſtration on any other foot." The king, whoſe behaviour was perfectly gracious, at length unexpectedly terminated the conference, by ſaying, "Well, Mr. Pitt, I ſee, or I fear, this won't do; my honour is concerned, and I muſt ſupport it." "Mr. Pitt," ſays lord Hardwicke, who is the relater of theſe particulars (in a letter to his ſon lord Royſton), "affirms, that if he was examined upon oath, he could not tell upon what this negotiation broke off. He believes that my lord Bute was ſincere *at firſt*, and that the king was in earneſt the firſt day; but that on the intermediate day, Sunday, ſome ſtrong effort was made, which produced the alteration. The miniſters, Mr. Grenville and lord Halifax, his lordſhip affirms, were highly offended that lord Bute ſhould thus

attempt

In conſequence of the ill ſucceſs of the recent attempt at reconciliation, the rage of party ſeemed more inflamed than ever, and the preſs teemed with political pamphlets on each ſide, couched in terms of the extremeſt virulence and abuſe. Theſe the miniſtry ſeemed totally and wiſely to diſregard, till on the appearance of the 45th number of a periodical publication ſtyled the North Briton, containing a perſonal and very indecent attack upon the king, charging him with affirming a direct falſehood in his ſpeech from the throne, it was in an evil hour judged expedient, for the vindication of his majeſty's honor, to exert every effort of government to reſcue the Sovereign from an imputation, the impreſſion made by which, had it been regarded with the dignity of ſilent contempt, would probably have laſted only till the 46th number had promulgated ſome new abuſe, as impudent, as malignant, and as futile as the former*. The well known and almoſt avowed author of the publication in queſtion was Mr. Wilkes, member of parliament for the borough of Ayleſbury, a man of ruined fortune and profligate morals, who had made repeated applications to the miniſtry for ſome poſt that might repair his ſhattered circumſtances; but failing of ſucceſs, probably through his total want of character, he reſolved in revenge, and it is ſaid that he ſcrupled not openly to declare his reſolution, to try how far it was practicable to carry the licentiouſneſs of writing under the pretext of exerciſing the liberty of the preſs. A warrant was iſſued under the hand and ſeal of lord Halifax, directed to certain of his majeſty's meſſengers

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attempt to ſacrifice them to his own fears and timidity; and they give it out, that he is to retire to the continent for a twelvemonth or more. You know a certain *Cardinal* was twice exiled out of France; and governed France as abſolutely whilſt he was abſent as when he was preſent." When Mr. Pitt, after the laſt conference, appeared at the levee, the king behaved to him with ſuch marked condeſcenſion and affability, that Mr. Pitt was heard to ſay, "His majeſty is the greateſt courtier in his court."

* No miniſter had ever been more virulently attacked than Mr. Pitt, nor did the political publications of the times ſpare the perſon of the late king; but Mr. Pitt, on being urged to proſecute the libellers, replied only with a ſmile, that the preſs was like air, "A CHARTERED LIBERTINE."

in the uſual official form, commanding them to apprehend the authors, printers, and publiſhers of that ſeditious and treaſonable paper.

On the 29th of April, 1763, late at night, the meſſengers entered the houſe of Mr. Wilkes, and produced their warrant, with which, on account of the general terms in which it was drawn, he abſolutely refuſed compliance; but on their return the next morning, he was compelled to accompany them to the office of the ſecretary of ſtate, whence he was committed cloſe priſoner to the tower, his papers being previouſly ſeized and ſealed, and all acceſs to his perſon ſtrictly prohibited. Application being made to the court of common pleas for an habeas corpus, a writ was accordingly iſſued, directed to the conſtable of the tower, in conſequence of which, Mr. Wilkes was brought up the next day to Weſtminſter Hall; and the caſe being new and important, he was, after the pleadings were finiſhed, remanded till Friday May 6, that the Judges might have leiſure to form their opinion. On that day being again brought before them, lord chief juſtice Pratt, afterwards created lord Camden, a firm and invariable friend to conſtitutional liberty, proceeded to give the opinion of the court. He declared, as to the leading points involved in this complex queſtion, the commitment of Mr. Wilkes to be not in itſelf illegal, being juſtified by numerous precedents; and though in ſtrict contemplation of law the warrant of the ſecretary of ſtate was not of ſuperior force to that of a juſtice of peace—where a combination of circumſtances gave a ſtrong ſuſpicion of facts incompatible with the public ſafety,—he was ſupported in the commitment even without receiving any particular information for the foundation of the charge. As to the ſecond objection, the court was of opinion, that there was no neceſſity for the ſpecification of thoſe particular paſſages in the 45th number of The North Briton, which had been deemed a libel. The paper did not, at that time, come under the cognizance of the court, nor could it without the aſſiſtance of a jury. As to the third head, the chief juſtice admitted, that the privilege of parliament was violated in the perſon of Mr. Wilkes;—for the privilege of parliament could be forfeited only by treaſon, felony, or breach of the peace; but Mr. Wilkes ſtood accuſed only of writing a libel, which did not come within that deſcription. At moſt, it had but a *tendency to diſturb* the peace, and this was not ſufficient to deſtroy the privilege of a member of parliament. The court then diſcharged Mr. Wilkes, againſt whom nevertheleſs a proſecution was immediately commenced by the attorney general; and he was at the ſame time, by an official notice from the ſecretary of ſtate to lord Temple, lord lieutenant of the county of Bucks, diſmiſſed from his military command as colonel of the Buckinghamſhire militia, and lord Temple was himſelf in a ſhort time diſmiſſed from his lieutenancy, to make room for lord le Deſpencer, late Sir Francis Daſhwood.

Upon the meeting of Parliament, November 15, 1763, his majeſty, in his ſpeech from the throne, exhorted the two houſes "to cultivate the arts of peace; to employ their utmoſt attention to the diſcharge of the heavy debts contracted in the late war:—he recommended to them the care and ſupport of the fleet; and towards the cloſe of the ſpeech he urged them to domeſtic union, and that they would diſcourage that licentious ſpirit which is repugnant to the true principles of liberty, and of our happy conſtitution." Before the King's ſpeech could be reported to the houſe, the miniſter, Mr. Grenville, knowing the intention of Mr. Wilkes to prefer a formal complaint of the breach of privilege committed in his perſon, declared, that he had a meſſage to deliver from the king. The meſſage being read, imported, "that his majeſty having received information, that John Wilkes, Eſq. a member of that houſe, was the author of a moſt ſeditious and dangerous libel, he had cauſed the ſaid John Wilkes, Eſq. to be apprehended and ſecured,

cured, in order to take his trial in due courſe of law. And Mr. Wilkes having been diſcharged out of cuſtody by the court of common Pleas, on account of his privilege as a member of that houſe, and having ſince refuſed to anſwer to an information filed againſt him by his majeſty's attorney-general; his majeſty, deſirous to ſhow all poſſible attention to the privileges of the houſe of commons, and at the ſame time ſolicitous not to ſuffer the public juſtice of the kingdom to be eluded, had choſen to direct the ſaid libel, and alſo copies of the examinations upon which Mr. Wilkes was apprehended and ſecured, to be laid before them:" and the miniſter then delivered the papers in at the table. On this a violent debate aroſe, and it was argued in extenuation of the offence of Mr. Wilkes, that no greater liberties had been taken by the author of this obnoxious paper than had been common on former occaſions of the ſame kind;—that the ſpeech of the king had never been conſidered in any other light than as that of the miniſter, and had always been treated with equal freedom. But the houſe, moſt unwiſely making itſelf a principal in the quarrel, and entering with violence into this vexatious and perplexing buſineſs, voted by a great majority, "that THE NORTH BRITON, No. 45, is a falſe, ſcandalous, and ſeditious libel, manifeſtly tending to alienate the affections of the people from his majeſty, and to excite them to traitorous inſurrections;" and ordered it to be burnt by the common hangman. Thus was this queſtion, ſo trivial and inſignificant in its origin, ſwelled to vaſt and national importance. No legal conviction having as yet taken place, Mr. Wilkes now made his complaint to the houſe, of breach of privilege by the impriſonment of his perſon, the plunder of his houſe, the ſeizure of his papers, and the ſerving him with a ſubpœna upon an information in the court of king's bench. The complaint being confeſſedly regular, it was reſolved to take it into conſideration on the 17th. In the interim, Mr. Wilkes in a duel fought with

Mr. Martin, late ſecretary of the treaſury and member for Camelford, from whom he had received a challenge, in reſentment of the freedom taken with his character in a former number of The North Briton, being dangerouſly wounded, was unable to appear in his place on the day appointed, and the conſideration of the queſtion was adjourned.

On the 23d of November, however, the deliberations on his majeſty's meſſage being reſumed, the houſe reſolved, by a majority of 125, in direct contradiction of the late deciſion of the court of common pleas, and the precedents upon record in their own journals, "that privilege of parliament does not extend to the caſe of a libel;" and an addreſs was preſented to his majeſty, in which the peers concurred, ſignifying their deteſtation of theſe ſeditious practices, and their warm affection for his majeſty's perſon and government. Mr. Pitt, who attended the houſe on this occaſion, though obliged by illneſs to be ſupported to his ſeat, declared himſelf with warmth againſt the reſolution now paſſed. No man, he ſaid, could condemn the paper or libel more than he did; but he would come at the author fairly, not by a ſacrifice of their conſtitutional privileges, and by ſubjecting every member who did not vote with the miniſter to the dread and danger of impriſonment. Under ſuch circumſtances, how can a parliament be free, or bold, or honeſt? To talk of the abuſe of privilege, was to attack the very being and life of parliament; it was an arraignment of the juſtice and honor of parliament to ſuppoſe that they would protect any criminal whatever. The dignity of parliament called upon them doubtleſs to ſupport and protect the purity of his majeſty's character: this they had done by a ſtrong and deciſive condemnation of the libel in queſtion; the reſt belonged to the courts below.

In purſuance of the former vote, the ſheriffs of London attempting to execute the order of the houſe of commons for burning the 45th number of The North Briton at the royal exchange, a violent riot enſued; the paper was reſcued from the hands of the executioner, the peace officers were attacked and the ſheriffs themſelves put in danger of their lives. Upon this the two houſes reſolved, that the rioters were perturbators of the public peace, dangerous to the liberties of this country, and obſtructors of the national juſtice. The thanks of the commons were voted to the ſheriffs, and an addreſs preſented to his majeſty, that he would give directions for the puniſhment of the rioters. Parliament now began ſenſibly to feel the ill effects of its indiſcretion, in thus committing themſelves by an eager interference with a buſineſs to which their juriſdiction did not extend, and of which the eſtabliſhed courts of judicature alone could properly take cognizance.

Notwithſtanding the votes, addreſſes, and reſolutions of the two houſes, which were regarded in Weſtminſter Hall as mere waſte paper, Mr. Wilkes brought his action againſt the earl of Halifax for ſeizing his papers; and on the 6th of December 1763, after an hearing of fifteen hours before lord chief juſtice Pratt, and a ſpecial jury, he obtained a verdict for 1000l. damages and full coſts of ſuit. In the charge given by the chief juſtice on this occaſion to the jury, his lordſhip, varying in ſome degree from his former opinion, ventured to declare the GENERAL WARRANT under which Mr. Wilkes was apprehended illegal—— with ſubmiſſion, however, to the opinions of the other judges, and of the higheſt judicial authority in this kingdom, the houſe of peers. "If," ſaid his lordſhip, "theſe ſuperior juriſdictions ſhould declare my opinion erroneous, I ſubmit, as will become me, and kiſs the rod; but I muſt ſay, I ſhall always conſider it as a rod of iron for the chaſtiſement of the people of Great Britain." During the Chriſtmas vacation, Mr. Wilkes thought proper to croſs the channel to France, and on the 16th of January 1764, the day fixed for his appearance, the ſpeaker produced a letter from Mr. Wilkes, incloſing medical certificates of the ill ſtate of his health, as an apology for his non-appearance. The houſe, notwithſtanding, voted Mr. Wilkes guilty of a contempt of the authority of the houſe, and that they would proceed to hear evidence on the charge againſt him; and on the 29th of January 1764, after a long and vehement debate, they reſolved, that John Wilkes, Eſq. was guilty of writing and publiſhing the paper, entitled The North Briton, No. 45, and that for this offence he be expelled his ſeat in this houſe.

On the ſame day, in the houſe of peers, a complaint or accuſation of a nature moſt improper for the cognizance of the houſe, and inconſiſtent with the dignity and decorum of its proceedings, was brought forward by the earl of Sandwich, who alleged, "that Mr. Wilkes had violated the moſt ſacred ties of religion, as well as decency, by printing in his own houſe a book or pamphlet, entitled, 'An ESSAY on WOMAN,' with notes or remarks, to which the name of a right reverend prelate, Warburton biſhop of Gloceſter, had been ſcurrilouſly affixed." This book was originally printed with the utmoſt ſecrecy, and very ſiniſter and ſcandalous artifices were adopted to procure a copy of the work, in order thus to convert it to the prejudice of the author. That the privileges of the houſe were violated by the uſe made of the name of the learned prelate was incontrovertible; and on the ſlighteſt inſpection the book appeared to be deteſtably obſcene and impious. The houſe therefore voted, without heſitation, an addreſs to his majeſty, to order a proſecution to be inſtituted againſt the author Mr. Wilkes. But this only ſerved to increaſe the reſentment of the public, who now regarded Mr. Wilkes as a victim devoted to ruin by the vengeance of the government, and whom it was therefore incumbent upon them to countenance and protect. As if to demonſtrate that the real object of government bore no analogy to the oſtenſible pretext, the charge reſpecting this infamous publication, juſt as it was admitted to be in itſelf, was made by a nobleman, ſo far from being able to boaſt of the immaculate purity of his own morals, that the prelate perſonally concerned in this buſineſs has been deſcribed as co-adjutor to a lay-lord, "*homini poſt homines natos turpiſſimo, ſceleratiſſimo, contaminatiſſimo.*"

On the 14th February, 1764, a motion was made in the houſe of commons by Sir William Meredith, a diſtinguiſhed member of the oppoſition, "that a GENERAL WARRANT for apprehending and ſeizing the authors, printers, and publiſhers of a ſeditious libel, together with their papers, is not warranted by law." The miniſters found themſelves extremely embarraſſed by the plauſibility and popularity of this motion. They however forcibly urged, that it was not conſiſtent with the dignity of the houſe to paſs a reſolution reſpecting a point of law; which, though it ſhould paſs, would not therefore be law. And if the courts of Law ſhould in the cauſes actually depending be influenced by this reſolution, and the houſe of lords in their judicial capacities ſhould decree for the legality of general warrants, the conſequences would be very diſagreeable. They acknowledged that the power in queſtion, to which uſage had given a ſort of ſanction, was very liable to abuſe; but they maintained that the remedy ſhould be provided by an act of parliament paſſed upon cool deliberation, diſtinguiſhing caſes, and ſpecifying thoſe diſcretionary powers which the contingent exigencies of government require to be veſted in the ſecretary of ſtate. But the oppoſition inſiſted, that the practice in queſtion was an abuſe, and they would never conſent to any act for regulating that abuſe. The debate being adjourned to the 17th, certain modifications to the original motion were propoſed by the miniſtry, calculated to leſſen the odium attending the practice, ſpecifying the uſage of office, and the tacit aſſent and approbation of the higheſt legal juriſdiction. But not daring to attempt to put a negative upon it, even in its preſent form, they moved the farther adjournment of the queſtion for four months. Mr. Pitt again exerted himſelf with ardor in ſupport of the original motion. "It was no juſtification, he ſaid, that general warrants could plead the authority of precedent;—two he admitted had been ſigned by himſelf, but they were not againſt libels; they were iſſued in a time of war and public danger againſt perſons believed to be in the intereſts of the enemy. Senſible of the irregularity of the act, but preferring the public ſafety to every perſonal conſideration, he ran the riſque, as he would of his head, relying upon the exigencies of the times and the neceſſity of the meaſure for his vindication. In the preſent caſe no ſuch neceſſity exiſted; the charge was writing and publiſhing a libel:—what was there in this crime ſo heinous and terrible as to require the uſe of this formidable engine, which like an inundation bore down all the barriers of the public ſecurity? It was plainly the indulgence of a violent reſentment pointed againſt a particular perſon. Surely Parliament could not ſee the extent of the ſurrender which they had made! a vote had paſſed, by which the perſonal freedom of every repreſentative of the nation was now at the mercy of his majeſty's attorney general. He concluded with ſaying, that if the houſe negatived the preſent motion, they would be the diſgrace of the preſent age, and the reproach of poſterity." The adjournment was carried by a majority of 14 voices only, in one of the fulleſt houſes known for many years, the minority on this occaſion being no leſs than 220. Such a defeat was conſidered as equivalent to a victory; the freedom of the city of London was voted to lord chief juſtice Pratt, and preſented to his lordſhip in a golden box; the picture of that magiſtrate, now the idol of the nation, placed in the Guildhall of the metropolis, whoſe example was, with an emulation of eagerneſs, followed by the city of Dublin, and other principal cities throughout the two kingdoms*.

Scarcely was this affair terminated, when the miniſter, Mr. Grenville, in the rage of making experiments, however hitherto unſucceſsful, determined upon a meaſure in its tendency and ultimate conſequences the moſt intereſting and important which ever perhaps came under the cognizance of the Britiſh parliament. As the reductions which had taken place ſince the concluſion of the war were far inferior to thoſe made by Mr. Pelham after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, and the vaſt increaſe of the national debt had rendered indiſpenſable a proportionable increaſe of revenue, large ſupplies were yet wanting to raiſe the national income to a level with the annual expenditure. The invention of the governors, and the patience of the people of Great Britain, being at this period alike exhauſted †, Mr. Grenville caſt his eyes upon the vaſt continent of America, as affording a boundleſs ſcope for miniſterial and parliamentary exaction. The project of taxing America had been many years ſince propoſed to Sir Robert Walpole, but that cautious and ſagacious ſtateſman replied, "that it was a meaſure too hazardous for him to venture upon; he ſhould therefore leave it to ſome more daring ſucceſſor in office to make the experiment." It is true that two or three remote and obſcure precedents might be adduced in

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* In the month of January 1764, the hereditary prince of Brunſwic was married to the princeſs Auguſta, eldeſt ſiſter of the king, to whom the parliament voted a marriage portion of 80,000l. a ſum equal to that formerly granted to the princeſs of Orange.

† In the debate on the Cider Bill, Mr. Grenville, in anſwer to the invectives of Mr. Pitt, contended, that the tax was unavoidable; "government, he ſaid, did not know where to lay another tax of equal efficiency. The right honorable gentleman complains of the hardſhip of this tax; why does he not tell us where we can lay another tax inſtead of it?—repeating with ſtrong emphaſis two or three times, tell me where you can lay another tax?" Mr. Pitt thus unfairly urged, replied, in a muſical tone, and in the words of a favorite and popular canzonet, "Gentle Shepherd, tell me where!" The houſe burſt into laughter, and Mr. Grenville, after this, retained the appellation of the "Gentle Shepherd." Little, certainly, did this miniſter imagine how fertile would be the invention of his ſucceſſors in office, or how thoroughly ſubdued by time and cuſtom the ſpirit of the people.

vindication of the authority of the Britiſh parliament to impoſe taxes in America. But then the taxes hitherto impoſed, conſiſting of certain import and export duties, were invariably and profeſſedly deſigned for the mere purpoſe of commercial regulation. It is remarkable, that the trivial and incidental produce of theſe duties was not even appropriated by parliament, and it was never ſo much as ſuſpected that they would be quoted as caſes in point ſhould a direct taxation be attempted. The project of Mr. Grenville, therefore, was of a nature perfectly novel. His avowed purpoſe was to raiſe a revenue in America in aid to the mother country, the entire produce of which was to be paid into the exchequer of Great Britain. This was a project in the higheſt degree alarming to the Americans; for if the claim of England to tax the colonies for her own benefit, and at her own diſcretion, was once admitted, a ſyſtem of oppreſſion would be introduced, which from the irreſiſtible tendencies of things would gradually become inſupportably grievous; and which once eſtabliſhed, no ſubſequent efforts would be able to deſtroy. No queſtion could perhaps be agitated of more difficult or doubtful diſcuſſion than the extent of the conſtitutional authority of Great Britain over America. It had never been analyſed or defined: it was, indeed, in its own nature indefinable: it was only admitted in the general, that Great Britain poſſeſſed a diſcretionary ſuperintending power, pervading the whole empire, with reſpect to objects of great and common concern. This power had been invariably exerciſed with caution, prudence, and moderation; and the benefits ariſing from it to the empire at large, and even to its colonies and dependencies ſeparately conſidered, were ſo manifeſt, that no diſpoſition exiſted to call in queſtion the validity of its acts, or to fix preciſe limits to its dominion. It was a political problem thrown as it were into ſhade, like various others, which it would be deemed highly imprudent to make the ſubject of a rigid or public ſcrutiny. The preciſe extent of the prerogative of the crown, of the privileges of parliament, of the juriſdiction of the different courts of judicature, who is competent to delineate? or who would deem it diſcreet or politic to create diviſions and animoſities in a ſtate by a vain endeavor to aſcertain queſtions, which folly and preſumption alone would without abſolute neceſſity agitate? But the indefinite authority poſſeſſed by Great Britain over the colonies, an authority ſo liable to abuſe, ſo juſtly therefore the ſubject of jealouſy, and which had maintained its full weight and energy, chiefly by the utility and propriety of its occaſional exertions, it was now determined to put wildly and wantonly to the hazard by an attempt to exerciſe it in a mode abſolutely unprecedented, and in the higheſt degree alarming, unconſtitutional, and dangerous.

On the 10th of March 1764, the houſe of commons, at the motion of the miniſter, paſſed a variety of reſolutions, reſpecting certain new duties on foreign goods imported into the Britiſh colonies in America, which being primarily of the nature of commercial regulations, paſſed without any diſtinct or particular notice in the Britiſh parliament, though their equivocal complexion rendered them very diſtaſteful to the Americans. But in the ſeries of parliamentary reſolutions was one of ſuch peculiar importance, that Mr. Grenville himſelf declared his intention to reſerve the execution of it till the next year. This reſolution imported, that it would be proper to impoſe certain STAMP DUTIES in the ſaid colonies and plantations, for the purpoſe of raiſing an American revenue payable into the Britiſh exchequer. The proſpect of being relieved by the taxation of America from a portion of the national burdens was ſo agreeable to the intereſt, and the unlimited exerciſe of authority ſo flattering to the pride, of this aſſembly, that the reſolution in queſtion paſſed the houſe with no violent or unuſual oppoſition. The dire effects of this meaſure it will be but too ſoon neceſſary to explain. In the mean time it is material to remark, that according to the true principles of the conſtitution, even the produce of the duties impoſed for the regulation

tion of commerce ought, in order to guard againſt poſſible and eventual abuſe, to have been paid not into the Britiſh exchequer, but into the colonial treaſuries. The act of the 6th George II. impoſing duties of a ſimilar kind on foreign rums, melaſſes, &c. contained no clauſe of appropriation; and ſo trivial was the produce of theſe duties, and ſo evidently remote from any deſign of raiſing a revenue, that no political alarm was in fact excited in conſequence of that act. But the apprehenſions of the Americans were at this period completely awakened by the declarations of the miniſter; and even this exerciſe of authority founded on recent precedent, was now the cauſe of jealouſy and uneaſineſs. But ſtill the greater ſhare of the diſcontent attached to this meaſure aroſe from the extreme commercial inconvenience and embarraſſment they immediately felt from the operation of the new duties; in conſequence of which, the trade from time immemorial carried on with the Spaniſh and French colonies, though legalized to a certain degree, was loaded with ſuch burdens, as virtually amounted to the annihilation of an intercourſe, which, however hitherto irregular, had been found by experience highly beneficial. As the heavy duties now impoſed rendered on the one hand all legal commerce impracticable, on the other, the exceſſive rigor of the regulations accompanying them, the innumerable certificates, cockets, clearances, and affidavits required by the new revenue acts, ſuddenly reduced the contraband traffic to a mere nullity. And the colonies, who had been accuſtomed to make a very large proportion of their returns to England in ſpecie, received from the Spaniards, now found themſelves reduced to a ſituation which left them utterly deſtitute of the means of purſuing the *routine* of the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem. The grand machine of commerce was diſordered in one of its main-ſprings, and its curious and complicated movements were all at once alarmingly ſuſpended. The Engliſh miniſter, poſitive, conceited, and converſant only in the detail of buſineſs, thus diſcovered, amidſt the very ſucceſs of his projects, that original poverty of genius, which no acquiſitions of knowledge, no experience, no induſtry can diſguiſe or compenſate.

On the 5th of October 1763 died, after a reign of thirty years, Auguſtus III. king of Poland and elector of Saxony; and the election of a new monarch immediately engroſſed the attention of the neighbouring powers. Although the elector, ſon of the late king, immediately offered himſelf as a candidate for the vacant throne, it appeared that the intereſts of the houſe of Saxony were on this occaſion abandoned by thoſe who had formerly ſo efficaciouſly ſupported them. The empreſs of Ruſſia, whoſe ambitious and enterpriſing ſpirit now began to develop itſelf, eſpouſed with great warmth the pretenſions of count Poniatowſki, a Poliſh nobleman, who had reſided for ſome time at Peterſburg, and whom her imperial majeſty had diſtinguiſhed by very flattering marks of her favor. And ſhe now declared her reſolution, paradoxical as it might appear to the world, "to ſupport the freedom of the Poliſh election by force." The king of Pruſſia, though his brother prince Henry had at firſt declared himſelf a candidate, was eaſily induced to acquieſce in this deſign of the empreſs—his principal object being to prevent the crown of Poland from becoming hereditary in the houſe of Saxony.

The court of Vienna, wearied and exhauſted by the late war, though ſtrongly biaſſed in favour of the electoral family, would not openly oppoſe this potent combination, being at preſent chiefly intent on ſecuring the ſucceſſion of the imperial crown by an election of a king of the Romans in the perſon of the archduke Joſeph. The death of the elector of Saxony, which happened ſoon after that of his father, decided the conteſt. A diet was ſummoned by the archbiſhop of Gneſna, prince primate of Poland, on the 7th of May 1764, under the *protection* of the Ruſſian forces. Count Branitzki, general of the crown, neverthelеſs, in conjunction with ſixty-ſeven ſenators and nuncios, ſigned a formal proteſt againſt the validity of the diet, and with their partiſans began to aſſemble troops. In return he was diveſted of his office by the diet, and, being purſued by a ſuperior force of Poles and Ruſſians, was compelled to retire into Hungary. Many of the Poliſh mal-contents found refuge in Turkey, where the Imperial and French miniſters had been aſſiduouſly employed in repreſenting the proceedings of the diet as inimical to the intereſts of the Porte.

On the 7th of September 1764, the *pacta conventa* agreeably to antient cuſtom being previouſly ſettled, count Poniatowſki was declared king of Poland and great duke of Lithuania, and as ſuch was either willingly or reluctantly recognized by all the powers of Europe. Amongſt the moſt early in their congratulations was the king of Pruſſia, who, with his own hand, wrote upon this occaſion a letter to the king of Poland, in a ſtyle rarely adopted by ſovereigns. "Your majeſty, ſays this great monarch, muſt reflect, that from a man exalted by the voice of his equals from a ſubject to a king, every thing is expected that can adorn a crown. A king who is ſo by birth, if he acts derogatory to his ſtation, is a ſatire only on himſelf; but an elected one, who behaves inconſiſtent with his dignity, reflects diſhonour alſo on his ſubjects."

During the interregnum the aſcendency acquired by Ruſſia in the affairs of Poland very ſtrikingly appeared. In compliance with the requiſition of the empreſs, the diet declared the inveſtiture of prince Charles of Saxony, A. D. 1758, as duke of Courland, to be null and void; and acknowledged count Biron, whom her imperial majeſty had re-inſtated in the government, as the lawful duke, and decreed that the dignity ſhould be perpetuated in the Biron family. At the ſame time the republic formally agreed to give the title of empreſs to the Czarina, and that of king to his Pruſſian majeſty, upon his engaging NEVER to lay claim to POLISH PRUSSIA. It is however very remarkable, that the empreſs, who had declared herſelf protectreſs of the diſſidents or non-catholics of Poland, who are very numerous, and chiefly of the Greek communion as profeſſed throughout the Muſcovite empire, could obtain no ſatisfaction reſpecting her ſubſequent demands for the re-eſtabliſhment of that claſs of citizens in the free enjoyment of their religion, and the privileges guarantied to them by the treaty of Oliva. "On the contrary," ſays the royal hiſtorian, "the diet unanimouſly reſolved, as if by a kind of fanatic enthuſiaſm, that the conſtitution made againſt them A. D. 1717, 1733, and 1736, ſhould be carried ſtrictly into execution."

The empreſs, highly offended at the unexpected and daring reſiſtance of the diet as to this point, formed a reſolution to ſupport the diſſidents by force of arms. This unjuſtifiable determination being made known, the diſcontent of the Poles became general and violent. The nation loudly exclaimed, that it was the ſubverſion of the eſtabliſhed faith which Ruſſia really meant to effect; and throughout all the provinces of the kingdom, from the Viſtula to the Neiſter, were at once ſeen the aſtoniſhing effects of that implacable ſpecies of malignity which originates in religious bigotry, and which is by far the moſt fatal and contagious of all the dire diſtempers to which the human mind is ſubject. A Ruſſian army entered the kingdom, under the evil auſpices of whom the diſſidents formed a CONFEDERATION for their common ſafety and defence. An extraordinary diet being called to determine this queſtion, the utmoſt degree of violence was practiſed on the members by prince Repnin, the Ruſſian general; and even the ſhadow of liberty annihilated, by ſending into exile the principal adverſaries of the Ruſſian meaſures—particularly the biſhops of Cracow and Kiovia, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the virulence and pertinacity of their oppoſition. The clergy, with clamorous vociferations, ſounded anew with moſt diſaſtrous ſucceſs the alarm of hereſy and ſchiſm throughout the kingdom. The nobles, ſeeing the power of the ariſtocracy no leſs endangered than that of the prieſthood, employed all their credit and influence alſo to perſuade the people, "that maſs of intellectual imbecility," as the king of Pruſſia ſtyles them, "made only to be the dupes of thoſe who will be at the pains to deceive them," that the newly elected monarch had joined with the Ruſſians to overthrow the holy catholic religion; and in the month of March 1768, the firſt catholic confederation was formed at BAR—the count Kraſzinſky being choſen marſhal. This was ſoon followed by many others; and in the delirium of paſſion and revenge they aſpired at no leſs than the dethronement of the king, who was thus compelled to throw himſelf entirely into the power of Ruſſia—a meaſure, however abhorrent from his feelings and judgment, now become neceſſary to the retaining poſſeſſion of a throne which ſeemed already ſhaking under him.

By the vigor and promptitude of her proceeding the empreſs Catherine had attracted in a peculiar degree the attention of the European courts. In her general ſyſtem of Poliſh politics ſhe was ſtrongly ſupported by the king of Pruſſia; and the peace recently concluded with that monarch was now cemented by a treaty of mutual defence, containing a ſecret article to prevent the eſtabliſhment of hereditary ſucceſſion in Poland—ſo far adopting the ſentiments of the late emperor Peter III. who ſought with eagerneſs the friendſhip and alliance of the court of Berlin. But in relation to other powers her views widely differed. It is neceſſary to recollect that the late czar was the ſon of the eldeſt daughter of Peter the great, married to that duke of Holſtein from whom the duchy of Sleſwic had been violently and unjuſtly wreſted by Denmark; though in the ſequel ceded and gurantied to the crown of Denmark by all the principal powers of Europe; and amongſt the reſt by Ruſſia, as a party to the treaty of Vienna, A.D. 1731. The czar, nevertheleſs, deeming no lapſe of time or weight of authority ſufficient to ſanction an injury ſo atrocious, burned with an eager deſire to recover his patrimonial poſſeſſions, and avenge himſelf upon that power by whom his family had been ſo cruelly oppreſſed.

No ſooner had he aſcended the throne than great military preparations were made for the avowed purpoſe of a war with Denmark, who, juſtly alarmed at the proſpect of a conteſt the moſt dangerous in which ſhe had perhaps ever engaged, exerted uncommon efforts on her part to maintain by force of arms the validity of her claims. But the depoſition of the emperor proved in its conſequences a moſt happy event for Denmark; for the empreſs, to whom the recovery of Sleſwic appeared a chimerical and uſeleſs project, immediately demonſtrated a diſpoſition to reſtore the harmony ſo long ſubſiſting between the two crowns: and in the ſequel, in order to attach the Daniſh court by all the ties of intereſt and gratitude to that of Ruſſia, the grand duke, only ſon of the late emperor, made a voluntary ceſſion to the king of Denmark of the entire duchy of Holſtein Gottorp; an acquiſition invaluable to Denmark, though on the part of Ruſſia, on account of its remote and detached ſituation, a trivial ſacrifice.

An incident of a moſt tragic nature at this time occurred in Ruſſia, exciting by its ſingular and irreſiſtible pathos the ſympathy and compaſſion of all Europe. The infant emperor Iwan, of the houſe of Mecklenburg, deſcended from Iwan, elder brother of the czar Peter the great, had been cloſely confined ſince the period of his depoſition by the late empreſs Elizabeth, for more than twenty years in the caſtle of Schluſſelberg. At the acceſſion of the preſent empreſs, apprehenſions being entertained that an attempt might be made to revive the pretenſions of this young prince, his guards were doubled, and orders given, if any reſcue ſhould be attempted, in no caſe to ſuffer him to eſcape alive from the place of his confinement. Very early in the morning of the 15th of Auguſt (1764), the empreſs being at that time reſident at Mittau, the capital of the duchy of Courland, an officer named Mirowitz produced a forged order from the empreſs to the governor of the fortreſs, ſignifying her reſolution to reſign the crown to prince Iwan, as the lawful heir and ſovereign of the Ruſſian empire. Upon the governor's diſputing the authenticity of the order, Mirowitz, ruſhing forward ſabre in hand at the head of his troop, attempted to force a paſſage into the caſtle, but was repulſed by the guard. In the mean time the villains, to whom the cuſtody of prince Iwan's perſon was more immediately entruſted, pretending that they could not anſwer for the conſequences, went immediately to the apartment of the young prince then aſleep, and as far as appears entirely ignorant of all the circumſtances attending this ſtrange project of reſcue, and in the moſt barbarous manner murdered him in his bed. His body being immediately expoſed at a window, Mirowitz, terrified at the ſpectacle, ſurrendered himſelf priſoner, and after a public and ſolemn examination and trial was condemned to loſe his head on the ſcaffold—a ſentence to which he ſubmitted with great conſtancy and reſignation.

A relation of this affair was publiſhed by order of the court of St. Peterſburg, but accompanied with certain circumſtances of myſtery and romance which have never been ſatisfactorily cleared up; and there were thoſe who did not ſcruple to inſinuate that Mirowitz was the unconſcious inſtrument and victim of the inſidious and deteſtable artifices of the court.

By an important article of the late treaty of Hubertſburg the king of Pruſſia had given his expreſs and formal aſſent to the election of a king of the Romans, which at a former period he ſo obſtinately oppoſed; and no ſhadow of competition exiſting, the archduke, heir of the houſe of Auſtria-Lorraine, was choſen, and crowned with great ſolemnity at Francfort, April 3, 1764; and in the courſe of the following year, the emperor Francis dying ſuddenly at Inſpruck, that prince ſucceeded quietly to the imperial throne, under the appellation of Joſeph II. France and Spain ſeemed well diſpoſed to eſtabliſh, by the equity of their conduct, the permanency of the late peace; and the various occaſional grounds of complaint which had ariſen were ſatisfactorily obviated. Differences indeed ſtill ſubſiſted, of a nature ſomewhat ſerious, reſpecting the payment of the Manilla ranſom, and the liquidation of the *Canada bills of exchange*, agreeably to the proviſions of the treaty—a large proportion of which the French court affirmed that Bigot, the intendant of the province, had fraudulently and ſurreptitiouſly iſſued, and for which therefore they would not undertake to be reſponſible.

Freſh cauſes of diſpute now aroſe between the king of France and the different parliaments of that kingdom. A royal arrêt being iſſued, impoſing a duty of one per cent. on all alienations of immoveable property, the parliament of Rouen refuſed to enregiſter this and ſome other exceptionable edicts; and forcible meaſures being employed by the duc de Harcourt to compel them to compliance, they almoſt unanimouſly reſigned their offices; nor would they be prevailed upon to reſume their functions, till ſuch alterations as they had ſuggeſted were conſented to by the court. The parliament of Toulouſe was equally refractory, and the duc de Fitz-James, governor of Languedoc, put various of its members under arreſt for their reſolute refuſal to enregiſter the edicts in queſtion. On which the parliament preſented articles of impeachment againſt the duke, and paſſed an arrêt, that the perſon of the ſaid duke ſhould be ſeized wherever he could be found, and brought to the priſons of the court, and his eſtates ſequeſtered. The parliament of Paris, as the ſupreme court of judicature, received without heſitation the appeal, and commanded the firſt preſident to wait upon the king, to know whether his majeſty would be pleaſed to attend the examination. The king replied, "that, as the duc de Fitz-James repreſented his perſon in the province of Languedoc, he reſerved to himſelf and his council the determination of this cauſe—permitting however the parliament to make ſuch repreſentations of his conduct as they ſhould find agreeable to juſtice and the laws." When this reply was reported, a grand committee, conſiſting of the princes of the blood, four peers of France, and ſixty other members of the parliament, was nominated to wait upon the king with freſh remonſtrances: but the death of the duke, which took place about this time, put a ſtop to the proceedings;—leaving however upon the reflecting and philoſophic mind an impreſſion, that views and ſentiments of a complexion novel and intereſting were becoming daily more prevalent in France; and that cauſes permanent and powerful were now ſtrongly, though ſecretly, operating, which muſt in proceſs of time, and at the deſtined period, produce effects proportionably dangerous and violent*.

The tranquillity of the ſouthern parts of Europe was at this period interrupted only by the war, which had for a ſeries of years ſubſiſted with little intermiſſion between the republic of Genoa and the inhabitants of Corſica, over which iſland the Genoeſe had long exerciſed a moſt imperious and oppreſſive dominion. During the war of 1740, England had given repeated aid and aſſiſtance to the Corſicans in their conteſt with Genoa, then in alliance with France and Spain; but at the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle no mention was made of thoſe brave and unfortunate iſlanders, who ſtill continued to defend their liberties with invincible reſolution and fortitude. A certain German adventurer, known under the title of Baron Neuhoff, a man poſſeſſed of plauſible and popular talents, had found means to obtain their confidence, and was actually elected, A. D. 1736, ſovereign of the iſland, under the appellation of Theodore king of Corſica.

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* The following remarkable prediction was at this preciſe period penned by M. Voltaire: "Tout ce que je vois jete les ſemences à une revolution, qui arrivera IMMANQUABLEMENT, & dont je n'aurai pas le plaiſir d'être temoin. La lumiére s'eſt tellement repandue de proche en proche, qu'on éclatera à la premiere occaſion, et alors ce ſera un beau tapage. Les jeunes gens ſont bienheureux—ils verront des belles choſes." This is in part wonderfully verified; but, through the fatal extravagancies of thoſe who make liberty to conſiſt in ſuch wild and chimerical ideas of equality as are inconſiſtent with every principle of order and ſubordination, and inflamed to madneſs by the unprincipled and unprovoked attack of the continental powers, the bliſsful æra ſo warmly anticipated by M. Voltaire ſeems as yet at a great diſtance. From this chaos order will however one day ariſe; and of our own times it may ſtill perhaps be truly affirmed, "Les jeunes gens verront des belles choſes."

But being found utterly incompetent to make good his magnificent boaſts and promiſes, he was compelled to abdicate his ſovereignty, and retired to England, where, being deeply involved in debt, he at length died in a forlorn and obſcure ſituation. The Corſicans, after the baniſhment of Theodore, transferred their regards, and in ſome meaſure their allegiance, to a native chief, of the name of Giacinto Paoli, whom they elected general of their armies, and preſident of their councils, and under whoſe direction and guidance they gained very ſignal advantages over the troops of the republic; ſo that, had no other power interfered, there exiſted a ſtrong probability that they would ultimately ſucceed in the eſtabliſhment of their liberty and independence.

England, during the high tide of their ſucceſſes, had demonſtrated her regard to the pretended rights of the republic, by ſcrupulouſly refraining from all intercourſe with the Corſicans; though it would ſurely have been highly becoming her dignity, and that paſſionate attachment to freedom by which ſhe was herſelf characterized, to have interpoſed her powerful influence in order to ſecure, as with the moſt perfect eaſe ſhe might incontrovertibly have done, to theſe heroic iſlanders, the bleſſings of peace and liberty. But never, never hath an inſtance of national generoſity ſimilar to this found a place in the records of hiſtory. On the contrary, a proclamation was iſſued under the adminiſtration of lord Bute, ſtrictly prohibiting the ſubjects of England from granting aid or aſſiſtance to the Corſican REBELS; and the republic of Genoa ſtill perſiſted in her fruitleſs and ruinous efforts to reduce them to abſolute ſubmiſſion. At length, general Matra, the Genoeſe commander, being defeated with great loſs in an engagement with the inſurgents near Furiani; and Baſtia, the capital of the iſland, appearing in imminent danger of falling into the hands of the Corſicans (who in July 1755 had elected, as their chief, Paſcal Paoli, ſon of Giacinto); the ſenate of Genoa was compelled to make a formal application for aſſiſtance to the moſt chriſtian king, the ally of the republic; and in Auguſt 1764 a convention was ſigned at Compeigne, importing that his moſt chriſtian majeſty, in conſideration of a certain ſtipulated ſubſidy, ſhould ſend a conſiderable force both naval and military to the iſland of Corſica—the latter there to remain for the term of four years if needful; and on the reſtoration of peace his moſt chriſtian majeſty conſented to guarantee the iſland to the republic. The Corſicans, however, juſtly alarmed at this interference, reſolved with inflexible conſtancy to defend their liberties at whatever riſk, fully and immoveably determined to endure every extremity rather than ſubmit themſelves and their poſterity to the inſupportable yoke of Genoeſe tyranny and ſlavery. At the ſame time general Paoli was commiſſioned, reſpectfully to repreſent to his moſt chriſtian majeſty, in the name of the Corſican nation, the injury he was doing to the free Corſicans, by ſending his troops thither at the time they were upon the point of driving their enemies out of their iſland. And well knowing how unavailing this repreſentation would probably prove, they charged their chief to ſolicit at the different courts of Europe, particularly thoſe of Vienna and London, their mediation with his moſt chriſtian majeſty, and to implore their protection in defence of their rights and liberties. Theſe applications, however, were doubtleſs received with coldneſs or contempt; for the French troops under the marquis de Marbœuf arrived without any impediment at the place of their deſtination within or about the end of the year, and were immediately put into poſſeſſion of the principal fortreſſes of Corſica yet remaining in the hand of the Genoeſe.

In this general review of foreign politics, ſcarcely can be accounted worthy of mention the diſpute ſubſiſting between his Britannic majeſty, as elector of Hanover, and the chapter of Oſnaburg, to the biſhopric of which the king of England had, agreeably to the proviſions of the treaty of Weſtphalia, nominated his ſecond ſon prince Frederic; during the minority of whom it became a ſubject of doubt and diſcuſſion,

cuſſion, to whom belonged the adminiſtration of the temporalties of the ſee, and the comitial ſuffrage in the diet of the Empire—the appointment of an infant biſhop being a new caſe in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. In a conteſt ſo unequal it will eaſily be ſuppoſed that, on an appeal to the diet now aſſembled at Ratiſbon, a deciſion was given without heſitation in favor of the monarch.

It remains only to remark, that on the 30th of December 1765 died at Rome, in a far advanced age, the famous Chevalier de St. George, only ſon of the late king James II. Born with the proſpect of inheriting three powerful kingdoms, he experienced during the courſe of a long life only a ſucceſſion of misfortunes. So entirely had he ſurvived his political conſequence, that the intelligence of his death was received in Great Britain with the utmoſt coldneſs and indifference; though his pretenſions to the Britiſh crown had, within the memory of the majority of perſons living, excited the higheſt apprehenſion and alarm. And theſe claims, however futile in themſelves, or with whatever ſerious miſchief to the ſtate attended, were at leaſt productive of this good conſequence, that they compelled the reigning family perpetually to recur to thoſe great principles of liberty civil and religious on which their own title to the crown was founded. But the annihilation of all competition will too naturally lead to the revival of thoſe high and lofty ideas of regal authority ſo flattering to the pride and ambition of kings, but which in this country at leaſt cannot be acted upon but at their utmoſt peril. The chevalier left two ſons, upon the eldeſt of whom devolved that ſhadow of a ſhade, the divine and indefeaſible right of ſucceſſion to the throne of Great Britain. The younger, educated an eccleſiaſtic, had been advanced to the purple under the appellation of cardinal of York; and he is at this moment the laſt ſurviving male of the ancient and royal houſe of Stuart, which, having been precipitated from the height of regal ſovereignty in conſequence of its attachment to the catholic faith, thus, to cloſe and conſummate its glories, "pays the laſt tribute of a ſaint to heaven."

The parliament of England was convened at the uſual period of the enſuing winter, and early in the year 1765 the queſtion reſpecting American taxation was revived with redoubled warmth and vigor. The *indulgence* of the miniſter in deferring the impoſition of the ſtamp duties till the preſent year, had not produced any advances towards an accommodation. The difference of principle occaſioned by the agitation of this new and dangerous queſtion, was in fact far too great to admit of any amicable compromiſe. Numerous petitions or memorials were tranſmitted from the different colonies, none of them expreſsly admitting, but the majority on the contrary poſitively denying, the right of the Britiſh legiſlature to impoſe any tax for the purpoſe of raiſing a colonial revenue, at the diſpoſal of the Britiſh parliament, and payable into the Britiſh exchequer.

On the part of the coloniſts it was urged, that the claim of England was not only abſolutely novel, but diametrically oppoſite to the ſpirit and letter of the Engliſh conſtitution, which has eſtabliſhed as a fundamental axiom—that taxation is inſeparably attached to repreſentation—that as the colonies were not, and from local and political obſtacles could not, be repreſented in the Britiſh parliament, it would be of the very eſſence of tyranny to attempt to exerciſe an authority over them, which from its very nature muſt lead to groſs and inevitable abuſe. For when Great Britain was in full poſſeſſion of the power now contended for, could it poſſibly be imagined, when a ſum of money for the ſupply of the exigencies of government was wanting, that the Britiſh parliament would not rather chooſe to vote, that it ſhould be paid by the coloniſts, than by themſelves and their conſtituents?

In reply to the argument which ſtated as highly reaſonable that America ſhould contribute her proportion to the general expence of the empire, it was ſaid, "that America had never been deficient in contributing, at the conſtitutional requiſition of the crown, in her own aſſemblies, to the utmoſt of her ability, towards the expences of the wars in which conjointly with England ſhe had been involved—that, in the courſe of the laſt memorable conteſt, large ſums had been repeatedly voted by parliament, as an indemnification to the colonies for exertions which were allowed to be diſproportionate to their means and reſources[*]—that the proper compenſation to Britain for the expence of rearing and protecting her colonies was the monopoly of their trade, the abſolute direction and regulation of which was univerſally acknowledged to be inherent in the Britiſh legiſlature." It was however clearly intimated, that a ſpecific ſum in lieu of all other claims might be obtained from the colonies, if accepted as a voluntary offering, not as a revenue extorted by a tyrannical and lawleſs force, which left them no merit in giving, and which might ultimately leave them nothing to give.

The argument or pretext which appeared to excite moſt indignation in the breaſt of the Americans and of their advocates, was that which affected to deem them *already repreſented*; and as being, if not actually, yet virtually included in the general ſyſtem of repreſentation, in the ſame manner as that very large proportion of the inhabitants of the Britiſh iſland who have no votes in the election of members or repreſentatives in the Britiſh parliament.

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[*] In the month of February 1756, the ſum of 115,000l. was voted by parliament, as a free gift and reward to the colonies of New England, New York, and Jerſey, for their paſt ſervices; and as an encouragement to continue to exert themſelves with vigor; May 1757, 50,000l. was in like manner voted to the Carolinas; and in 1758, 41,000l. to the Maſſachuſetts and Connecticut. April 1709, 200,000l. were voted as a compenſation to the reſpective colonies in North America—March 1760, 200,009l.——1761, 200,000l.——1762, 133,000l.—in all, one million ſeventy-two thouſand pounds. Excluſive, however, of theſe indemnifications, and of the extraordinary ſupplies granted in the different colonial aſſemblies, a debt of above two millions and a half had been incurred by America during the war; and this debt was far from being as yet liquidated. But it might be inferred from the conduct of the preſent miniſtry, that the moſt trivial revenue *extorted* from America was deemed preferable to the largeſt ſums freely and voluntarily granted.

"The very eſſence of repreſentation," ſaid America, "conſiſts in this—that the repreſentative is himſelf placed in a ſituation analogous to thoſe whom he repreſents, ſo that he ſhall be himſelf bound by the laws which he is entruſted to enact, and liable to the taxes which he is authoriſed to impoſe. This is preciſely the caſe with regard to the national repreſentation of Britain. Thoſe who do, and thoſe who do not elect, together with the elected body themſelves, are, in reſpect to this grand and indiſpenſable requiſite, upon a perfect equality—that the laws made and the taxes impoſed extend alike to all. Where then in this caſe is the danger of oppreſſion, or where the inducement to oppreſs? But in the caſe of American taxation, theſe *mock repreſentatives* actually relieve themſelves in the very ſame proportion that they burden thoſe whom they falſely and ridiculouſly pretend to repreſent. Where then in this caſe is the ſecurity againſt oppreſſion? or where is the man ſo weak and prejudiced as not to ſee the irreſiſtible tendency of this ſyſtem to oppreſſion, however honeſt and upright candor would repreſent the intentions of thoſe by whom it ſhould be originally eſtabliſhed?"

It is painful to reflect how little influence theſe clear and irrefragable reaſonings had in an aſſembly ſo intelligent and dignified as that of the parliament of Great Britain. Jealous in the higheſt degree, in common with all other bodies of men in whom power is veſted, of the ſlighteſt violation of their authority, they unanimouſly concurred, however divided on other points, in not ſuffering the memorials which queſtioned their juriſdiction to be read in the houſe of commons. The Miniſter indeed propoſed, that the colonial agents might be indulged in being heard at the bar of the houſe by counſel, contrary to the uſual parliamentary practice, againſt the tax, in behalf of their reſpective colonies; but this was refuſed as derogatory to the honor of the colonies, who would not on this occaſion petition, but proteſt: and the STAMP ACT, after paſſing through the uſual forms, and confiding in the ſupport of great and deciſive majorities, received at length the royal aſſent.

The oppoſition to this famous act, though weak in reſpect to numbers, was nevertheleſs unuſually ardent and animated. General Conway, with the magnanimous firmneſs of an Abdiel, ſingly proteſted againſt the *right*; and colonel Barré, a ſpeaker of great eminence in the houſe, in reply to the reflections of Mr. Charles Townſhend on the pretended ingratitude of the Americans, whom he ſtyled "children planted by our care, and nouriſhed by our indulgence," broke out into a moſt eloquent and indignant exclamation——"They planted by your care!" ſaid he, "NO— your oppreſſions planted them in America—they fled from your tyranny to a then uncultivated and inhoſpitable wilderneſs, expoſed to all the hardſhips to which human nature is liable. They nouriſhed by your indulgence! —No; they grew by your neglect of them: your *care* of them was diſplayed, as ſoon as you began to care about them, in ſending perſons to rule them who were the deputies of deputies of miniſters—men whoſe behaviour on many occaſions has cauſed the blood of thoſe ſons of liberty to recoil within them—men who have been promoted to the higheſt ſeats of juſtice in that country, in order to eſcape being brought to the bar of a court of juſtice in their own. I have been converſant with the Americans, and I know them to be loyal indeed; but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them if ever they ſhould be violated: and let my prediction of this day be remembered, that the ſame ſpirit of freedom which actuated that people at firſt, will accompany them ſtill." The houſe ſat awhile apparently heſitating and amazed, but the event ſhewed how tranſient was the impreſſion.

An occaſional indiſpoſition of the king exciting much alarm in the poſſible proſpect of a long minority, for which no public proviſion had been made, on the 22d of April

1765

1765 the king went in ſtate to the houſe of peers, and in a ſpeech to both houſes of parliament recommended to their ſerious attention the making ſuch proviſion as would be neceſſary in caſe any of his children ſhould ſucceed to the throne before they ſhould reſpectively attain the age of eighteen years. In conſequence of this recommendation a bill was brought into the houſe of lords, framed on the plan of the regency act, of the twenty-fourth of the late king, empowering his majeſty to appoint, by inſtrument in writing under his ſign manual, either the queen or *any other perſon of his royal family* uſually reſident in Great Britain, to be regent of theſe kingdoms until the ſucceſſor to the crown ſhall attain the age of eighteen years. The council of regency to conſiſt of the dukes of York and Glouceſter, the princes Henry Frederic and Frederic William, brothers to the king; William Auguſtus duke of Cumberland, uncle to his majeſty; and the great officers of ſtate for the time being.

Some remarkable circumſtances attended the origin and progreſs of this bill. It was underſtood to be introduced into parliament officially only, the oſtenſible miniſters not having been previouſly or confidentially conſulted on the ſubject. A doubt ariſing on the queſtion, "Who were the royal family?" it was explained by the law lords to be the deſcendants of king George II. and in this conſtruction lord Halifax, the ſecretary of ſtate, moſt readily acquieſced, declaring it to be perfectly conſonant to the royal intention. In this point however his lordſhip appeared to be egregiouſly miſtaken; for when the bill was tranſmitted to the commons, a motion was made by Mr. Morton, a confidential friend of the earl of Bute, to inſert the name of her royal highneſs the princeſs dowager of Wales, the omiſſion of which was declared to be a groſs indignity offered to a princeſs who merited the eſteem and *gratitude* of the Engliſh nation. The bill accordingly paſſed with this important amendment; but it ſoon appeared that a very deep reſentment was harbored by the princeſs at the conduct of the miniſters in the whole of this tranſaction, which ſhe conſidered as an open and flagrant affront, inſtigated by a malicious and inſidious deſign on their part to exclude her altogether from the future eventual adminiſtration of affairs. A reſolution was immediately formed by the cabinet of Carlton Houſe to diſcard the preſent miniſters, who had lately on various occaſions been found very refractory. For this purpoſe it was neceſſary to make overtures either to Mr. Pitt or the duke of Newcaſtle, the leaders of the two great parties now in oppoſition.

At the latter end of May (1765) the duke of Cumberland held a conference with lord Temple and Mr. Pitt at Hayes, and acquainted them that the king had reſolved to change his miniſters, and wiſhed to engage his lordſhip, Mr. Pitt, and their friends in his ſervice; but firſt the duke requeſted "to know the conditions." Mr. Pitt with warmth aſſured his royal highneſs, "that he was ready to go to St. James's on this proviſo—that he could carry the conſtitution along with him." The reſult of the conference not being ſatisfactory, it became a matter of indiſpenſable neceſſity to continue for ſome time longer the preſent miniſters in office. But Mr. Grenville, now thoroughly apprized of the hoſtile reſolutions of thoſe who directed the interior cabinet, and preſuming on their preſent inability to carry their deſigns into execution, kept no meaſures with the court, and inſiſted, in concert with the duke of Bedford and his other colleagues, upon the immediate diſmiſſion of Mr. Stuart Mackenzie, brother to lord Bute; the duke of Northumberland, whoſe ſon had recently married the daughter of lord Bute; and Mr. Fox, his conſtant and powerful parliamentary advocate, now created lord Holland. And the duke of Bedford is ſaid to have made perſonally to the king warm and indignant remonſtrances againſt that ſyſtem of baſeneſs and duplicity of which his majeſty's miniſters found themſelves the victims.

Another advance was now made on the part of the court to gain over Mr. Pitt and lord Temple, who by command waited on his majeſty together at the queen's palace (June 25), but without effect—the brother patriots inſiſting upon a total change of men, meaſures, and counſels, whilſt on the part of the court it was made an indiſpenſable condition, that the "king's friends" who held ſubordinate offices ſhould be permitted to continue in their preſent ſituations.

His Majeſty being reſolved at any rate to part with his preſent miniſters, now at open war with the cabinet of Carlton Houſe, the duke of Cumberland was again applied to; and a negotiation being opened through his mediation with the duke of Newcaſtle, the arrangements for a new adminiſtration were in a ſhort time ſettled *. His grace, unable to ſuſtain the fatigues and cares of the department he had formerly occupied, now choſe for himſelf the honorable ſinecure of lord privy ſeal, to which, in conſideration of paſt ſervices and obligations, was now for the firſt and laſt time annexed *the patronage of the* CHURCH. The marquis of Rockingham, a nobleman of great probity and underſtanding, of juſt and generous ſentiments, and of amiable and conciliating manners, was placed at the head of the treaſury; Mr. Dowdeſwell, a man of ſterling talents and inflexible virtues, equally a ſtranger to the artifice and ſervility of courts, being appointed chancellor of the exchequer. The earl of Northington was confirmed in his poſt as chancellor of Great Britain, and lord Egmont as firſt lord of the admiralty. Lord Winchelſea ſucceeded the duke of Bedford as preſident of the council; and the ſeals, lately in the poſſeſſion of the earls of Sandwich and Halifax, were transferred to the duke of Grafton (a young nobleman diſtinguiſhed by his parliamentary talents, and who had early attained to an high degree of political eminence) and general Conway, a name of unſullied honor, upon whom the taſk of conducting the buſineſs of government in the houſe of commons chiefly devolved. The earl of Hertford, brother to the general, ſucceeded the duke of Northumberland in the government of Ireland.

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* This was the laſt public tranſaction in which the duke of Cumberland took part, his royal highneſs dying ſuddenly of an apoplexy in the autumn of the preſent year, October 31, 1765, in the forty-ſixth year of his age. This prince being the youngeſt of the numerous family of king George II. Louiſa queen of Denmark excepted, and not born till ſome years after the acceſſion, was conſequently a native of England; and happily not being *ſent to* GERMANY *for* EDUCATION, he might boaſt "that his heart was truly Engliſh." His perſonal and public virtues rendered him highly reſpectable; and by the victory of Culloden he had the glory of eſtabliſhing, it may be hoped for ever, the liberties of his country, and of fixing the crown of theſe realms beyond all danger of future attempts on the head of his father.

Lord Temple condemned in terms of bitterneſs and acrimony, and Mr. Pitt with more decorum and reſerve, the acceptance of the new miniſters. Had the duke of Newcaſtle and his friends been proof againſt the temptations and allurements of office, it was ſaid that an effectual termination muſt have been put to the ſecret reign of the favorite; whereas now his influence was at the moſt but ſuſpended until a more ſuitable opportunity offered for making another diſplay of his power and verſatility. And the nation at large, though not unwilling to acknowledge the merits of the preſent miniſters, were aſtoniſhed and diſpleaſed to ſee a new arrangement of adminiſtration formed on whig principles, from which lord Temple and Mr. Pitt were excluded. On the other hand, the miniſters complained of the inflexibility of men who, when great conſtitutional points might be with certainty ſecured, would not ſcruple to put all to the hazard rather than accede to terms of reaſonable accommodation.

On the 14th of January 1766 the parliament was convened for the diſpatch of buſineſs, and their attention was immediately excited and ongroſſed by the diſturbances and tumults which had taken place in almoſt all parts of the continent of America, in conſequence of the STAMP ACT paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion. As the queſtion relative to this famous act was chiefly a conteſt of principle, it is ſcarcely worth while to remark the abſurdity and oppreſſion ariſing from the nature and regulations of the act itſelf, and which afforded a moſt ſtriking and hideous ſpecimen of the deſpotiſm which would be eventually exerciſed when the new ſyſtem ſhould be fully eſtabliſhed. Such was the difficulty, in a country ſo thinly peopled in proportion to its extent as America, to procure the neceſſary ſtamps, that the coſt of obtaining them from the diſtributers was in many parts ſaid to be tenfold the amount of the duty. By the proviſions of the act, the proſecutor might bring his action againſt the ſuppoſed delinquent in a court ſituated at one extremity of the continent, though the treſpaſs was committed, more than fifteen hundred miles diſtant, at the other—yet the defendant, ſhould the plaintiff be caſt, could obtain no damages if the judge ſhould certify that there was a *probable foundation* for the proſecution. The judge moreover had an evident intereſt in procuring a verdict for the plaintiff, being allowed a large proportion of the penalty in caſe of conviction. Well might it be aſked, "whether the moſt abject vaſſals of the moſt tyrannic government would paſſively ſubmit to ſo humiliating a yoke*!"

Upon receiving authentic intelligence that the vote of the preceding year was converted into an act of the legiſlature, the portentous melancholy which had univerſally prevailed was on a ſudden converted into fury, and broke out every where into deeds of violence. The ſhips in the harbor of Boſton hung out their colors half-maſt high, as a ſignal of the deepeſt diſtreſs. The bells of the churches throughout the city, being muffled, rang out a dumb peal. The act itſelf, as ſoon as it came from the king's printing-houſe, was burnt by the populace, with the effigies of the men moſt active in paſſing it. The maſters of thoſe veſſels which had conveyed the ſtamps to America were compelled to deliver up their execrated cargoes to an enraged multitude, who treated them with the ſame ignominy which the act itſelf had experienced. Thoſe who had accepted commiſſions to act as diſtributers of ſtamps, were forced by public oath to renounce all concern in them at this or any future juncture; and in ſome inſtances the houſes of thoſe who were moſt obnoxious were demoliſhed, and their effects plundered or deſtroyed. The juſtices of the peace in many parts gave public notice, that they would never, by acting in that capacity, be inſtrumental to the ſubverſion of their country's liberties: the gentlemen alſo of the law, fired by the ſame patriotic enthuſiaſm, univerſally renounced, in the exerciſe of their profeſſion, the uſe of the Britiſh ſtamps. But the moſt alarming oppoſition was made by the merchants, who entered into ſolemn engagements not to import any more goods from Great Britain till the ſtamp act was repealed. By the 1ſt of November (1768), the day on which the act was to take place, not a ſheet of ſtamped paper was to be found throughout the colonies; ſo that all buſineſs which could not be legally carried on without ſtamps was entirely at a ſtand. Every where the courts of juſtice were ſhut, and the ports cloſed. The provincial aſſemblies, far from taking any effectual meaſures to enforce ſubmiſſion to the act, paſſed reſolutions in oppoſition to it, declaratory of their conſtitutional and unalienable rights, and eſtabliſhed committees to correſpond and adviſe concerning the common affairs of the continent. From theſe committees delegates were appointed, who, meeting at New York, unanimouſly concurred in framing and publiſhing a ſort of manifeſto expreſſive of their grievances.

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* An abominable clauſe offered by the miniſter, to enable the American governors to quarter the ſoldiery in private houſes for the purpoſe of enforcing this act, was, greatly to the honor of the houſe, unanimouſly rejected; but it ſerves to ſhew what villanous means an honeſt man, for ſuch was Mr. Grenville, will ſometimes not ſcruple to adopt, when blinded by prejudice or paſſion, and obſtinately bent on the accompliſhment of a favorite deſign.

A great variety of papers were, by order of the king, laid before parliament, relative to theſe alarming tranſactions; and in that ſpirit of equity, moderation, and juſtice, which denoted the prevalence at this period of the maxims and counſels of genuine whiggiſm, his majeſty declared in his ſpeech to the two houſes, "his firm confidence in their wiſdom and zeal, which would, he doubted not, guide them to ſuch ſound and prudent reſolutions, as might tend at once to preſerve the conſtitutional rights of the Britiſh legiſlature over the colonies; and to reſtore to them that harmony and tranquillity which had lately been interrupted by diſorders of the moſt dangerous nature. I have, ſaid the monarch, nothing at heart but the aſſertion of legal authority, the preſervation of the liberties of all my ſubjects, the equity and good order of my government, and the concord and proſperity of all parts of my dominions." The mild policy which dictated this excellent ſpeech, was by the late miniſters and their partiſans made the theme of their reproach and invective. The numerous petitions preſented to the houſe from the principal commercial cities of the kingdom, for the repeal of the ſtamp act, were falſely and ridiculouſly repreſented as the effects of miniſterial artifice. "Let the diſtreſs of the mercantile part of the community be however what it may, they exclaimed, it ought to be ſubmitted to, rather than by a repeal of the act to *hazard* the total loſs of the juſt ſuperiority of Great Britain over the colonies:" for, ſeeing with inverted optics, they were wholly inſenſible that it was only by obſtinately perſiſting in the ſyſtem of folly and oppreſſion already begun, that the juſt authority of Britain would be really and truly *hazarded**.

In the courſe of the debate on the motion of addreſs, Mr. Pitt roſe to offer his ſentiments on the preſent alarming ſituation of affairs. He pronounced every capital meaſure taken by the late miniſters to have been entirely wrong. As to the preſent miniſters, though he acknowledged them to be men of fair characters, and ſuch as he was happy to ſee engaged in his majeſty's ſervice, he profeſſed, that he could not give them his confidence. "Confidence," ſaid he, "is a plant of ſlow growth in an aged boſom:—youth is the ſeaſon of credulity. By comparing events with each other, reaſoning from effects to cauſes, methinks I plainly diſcover the traces of an over-ruling influence. I have had the honor to ſerve the crown; and could I have ſubmitted to *influence*, I might ſtill have continued to ſerve—but I would not be reſponſible for others. I have no local attachments. It is indifferent to me, whether a man was rocked in his cradle on this ſide or that ſide of the Tweed. I countenanced and protected merit wherever it was to be found. It is my boaſt, that I was the firſt miniſter who ſought for it in the mountains of the North—I called it forth, and drew into your ſervice an hardy and intrepid race of men, who were once dreaded as the inveterate enemies of the ſtate. When I ceaſed to ſerve his majeſty as a miniſter, it was not the country of the man by which I was moved, but the man of that country held principles incompatible with freedom. It is a long time, Mr. Speaker, ſince I have attended in parliament: when the reſolution was taken in this houſe to tax America, I was ill in bed. If I could have endured to have been carried in my bed, ſo great was the agitation of my mind for the conſequences, I would have ſolicited ſome kind hand to have laid me down on this floor to have borne my teſtimony againſt it. It is my opinion, that this kingdom has NO RIGHT to lay a tax upon the colonies. At the ſame time, I aſſert the authority of this kingdom to be ſovereign and ſupreme in every circumſtance of government and legiſlation whatſoever. Taxation is no part of the governing or legiſlative power; the taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the commons alone. The concurrence of the peers and of the crown is neceſſary only as a form of law. This houſe repreſents the commons of Great Britain. When in this houſe we give and grant, therefore, we give and grant what is our own; but can we give and grant the property of the commons of America? It is an abſurdity in terms. There is an idea in ſome, that the colonies are virtually repreſented in this houſe. I would fain know by whom? The idea of virtual repreſentation is the moſt contemptible that ever entered into the head of a man: it does not deſerve a ſerious refutation. The commons in America, repreſented in their ſeveral aſſemblies, have invariably exerciſed this conſtitutional right of giving and granting their own money; they would have been ſlaves if they had not enjoyed it. At the ſame time this kingdom has ever poſſeſſed the power of legiſlative and commercial control. The colonies acknowledge your authority in all things, with the ſole exception that you ſhall not take their money out of their pockets without their conſent. Here would I draw the line—*quam ultra citraque nequit conſiſtere rectum.*" After ſome minutes of profound ſilence, Mr. Grenville ſtood up; and with all the ſyſtematic obſtinacy of a ſincere but cloudy and narrow mind, entangled in the web of its own ſophiſtry, he entered into a laboured vindication of the meaſures of his adminiſtration. He aſſerted, that the tumult in America bordered on open rebellion; and if the doctrine promulgated that day were confirmed, he feared they would loſe this name to take that of revolution. He affirmed taxation to be a branch of the ſovereign power, and that it had been frequently exerciſed over thoſe who were never repreſented:—it was exerciſed over the Eaſt India and other chartered companies, and over the proprietors of the ſtock, and many great manufacturing towns. It was exerciſed over the palatinate of Cheſter and the biſhopric of Durham before they ſent repreſentatives to parliament. He appealed for proofs to the preambles of the act which gave them repreſentatives, and which by his deſire were read to the houſe. He ſaid, that when he propoſed to tax America, the *right* was by no one called in queſtion. Protection and obedience were reciprocal; Great Britain protects America; America is therefore bound to yield obedience. "If not, tell me," ſaid he, "when were the Americans emancipated? The ſeditious ſpirit of the colonies owes its birth to the factions in this houſe. We were told we trode on tender ground; we were bid to expect diſobedience; what was this but telling America to ſtand out againſt the law? to encourage their obſtinacy with the expectation of ſupport from hence? Ungrateful people of America! The nation has run itſelf into an immenſe debt to give them protection; bounties have been extended to them. In their favor the act of navigation, that palladium of the Britiſh commerce, has been relaxed; and now they are called upon to contribute a ſmall ſhare towards the public expence, they renounce your authority, inſult your officers, and break out, I might almoſt ſay, into open rebellion."

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* In the ſame ſpirit of blind and deplorable infatuation has the exclamation been recently repeated, "Periſh our commerce, but let our conſtitution live!" whilſt in fact the meaſures in queſtion were at both periods equally ſubverſive of commerce and conſtitution.

Mr. Pitt, fired with diſdain and reſentment, immediately roſe to reply, but was called to order by lord Strange, as having already ſpoken; the privilege of ſpeaking a ſecond time being allowed only in a committee. But the houſe reſounding with the cry GO ON, he proceeded with an animation and enthuſiaſm which no art or ſtudy can imitate, ſpontaneouſly flowing from the conſciouſneſs of great talents engaged in a juſt and noble cauſe." "Sir," ſaid he, addreſſing the ſpeaker; "a charge is brought againſt gentlemen ſitting in this houſe, for giving birth to ſedition in America. The freedom with which they have ſpoken their ſentiments againſt this unhappy act, is imputed to them as a crime; but the imputation ſhall not diſcourage me. It is a liberty which I hope no gentleman will be afraid to exerciſe; it is a liberty by which the gentleman who calumniates it might have profited. He ought to have *deſiſted from his project.* We are told America is obſtinate—America is almoſt in open rebellion. Sir, I REJOICE that America has reſiſted;—three millions of people ſo dead to all the feelings of liberty, as voluntarily to ſubmit to be ſlaves, would have been fit inſtruments to make ſlaves of all the reſt. I came not here armed at all points with law caſes and acts of parliament, with the ſtatute-book doubled down *in dogs ears* to defend the cauſe of liberty; but for the defence of liberty upon a general, conſtitutional principle—it is a ground on which I dare meet any man. I will not debate points of law:—but what after all do the caſes of Cheſter and Durham prove, but that under the moſt arbitrary reigns parliament was aſhamed of taxing a people without their conſent, and allowed them repreſentatives? A higher and better example might have been taken from Wales; that principality was never taxed by parliament till it was incorporated with England. We are told of many claſſes of perſons in this kingdom not repreſented in parliament; but are they not all virtually repreſented as Engliſhmen reſident within this realm? Have they not the option, many of them at leaſt, of becoming electors? Every inhabitant of this kingdom is neceſſarily included in the general ſyſtem of repreſentation. It is a misfortune that more are not actually repreſented. The honourable gentleman boaſts of his bounties to America—are not theſe bounties intended finally for the benefit of this kingdom? If they are not, he has miſapplied the national treaſures. I am no courtier of America—I maintain that parliament has a right to bind, to reſtrain America. Our legiſlative power over the colonies is ſovereign and ſupreme. The honourable gentleman tells us, he underſtands not the difference between internal and external taxation; but ſurely there *is* a plain diſtinction between taxes levied for the purpoſe of raiſing a revenue, and duties impoſed for the regulation of commerce. 'When,' ſaid the honourable gentleman, 'were the colonies emancipated?' At what time, ſay I in anſwer, were they made ſlaves? I ſpeak from accurate knowledge when I ſay, that the profits to Great Britain from the trade of the colonies, through all its branches, is two millions per annum. This is the fund which carried you triumphantly through the laſt war; this is the price America pays you for her protection; and ſhall a miſerable financier come with a boaſt that he can fetch a pepper-corn into the exchequer at the loſs of millions to the nation? I know the valor of your troops—I know the ſkill of your officers—I know the force of this country; but in ſuch a cauſe your ſucceſs would be hazardous. America, if ſhe fell, would fall like the ſtrong man; ſhe would embrace the pillars of the ſtate, and pull down the conſtitution with her. Is this your boaſted peace? Not to ſheathe the ſword in the ſcabbard, but to ſheathe it in the bowels of your countrymen? The Americans have been wronged—they have been driven to madneſs by injuſtice. Will you puniſh them for the madneſs you have occaſioned? No: let this country be the firſt to reſume its prudence and temper: I will pledge myſelf for the colonies, that, on their part, animoſity and reſentment will ceaſe. Let affection be the only bond of coercion. The ſyſtem of policy I would earneſtly exhort Great Britain to adopt, in relation to America, is happily expreſſed in the words of a favorite poet:

> Be to her faults a little blind,
> Be to her virtues very kind;
> Let all her ways be unconfin'd,
> And clap your padlock on her mind. PRIOR.

Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the houſe in a few words what is really my opinion. It is, "That the ſtamp act be repealed ABSOLUTELY, TOTALLY, and IMMEDIATELY."

In a ſhort time a bill was brought in by the new miniſters for this purpoſe, which, after very vehement oppoſition, paſſed both houſes by conſiderable majorities, and received the royal aſſent; accompanied at the ſame time with a DECLARATORY ACT, aſſerting the power and right of Great Britain to bind the colonies in all caſes whatſoever.

The joy in America was extreme at the intelligence of this repeal; and the mere declaration of an *abſtract right*, which they imagined to be with reſpect to the claim of taxation *in fact* relinquiſhed, and which ſeemed chiefly intended as a ſalvo for the honor of parliament, gave them little apprehenſion or uneaſineſs; and it was not till after an interval of ſeveral years, when the colonies had been harraſſed and wearied out by a long ſeries of vexations and encroachments on their eſtabliſhed privileges, that the aſſembly of Maſſachuſetts at length, by a formal reſolution, voted the declaratory act to be *a grievance*. The mere aſſertion of the claim, though harſhly expreſſed, would have excited no ſerious diſcontent, had the authority of Great Britain been exerciſed in the old conſtitutional and regular mode; and the council of the Maſſachuſetts, with a degree of wiſdom which it would have been happy if the parliament of Great Britain had deigned to imitate, ſay in their excellent anſwer to the bold political dogmas advanced in a ſtudied ſpeech by the governor: "If, from the nature and end of government, the ſupreme authority of parliament muſt be limited; the enquiry will be, what are the limits of that authority with regard to this colony? To fix this with preciſion, to determine the exact lines of right and wrong in this caſe, as in ſome others, is difficult, and we have not the preſumption to attempt it."

Excluſive of the merit of carrying into execution, in contempt of the reproaches and clamors of the late raſh and blundering miniſters, this wiſe and conciliatory meaſure, the preſent adminiſtration, in the general tenor of their conduct, acted in a manner which reflected the higheſt credit on their integrity and underſtanding. The declaratory act, however theoretically diſputable, ſerved to diſplay their ſolicitude to ſuſtain the honor of the nation; which was made farther apparent by an act paſſed under their patronage, requiring compenſation to be made by the American aſſemblies to thoſe who had ſuffered by the riots conſequent on the ſtamp act*.

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* The act repealing the ſtamp act, when tranſmitted to America, was accompanied by a circular letter to the governors of the ſeveral provinces by Mr. Secretary Conway, written in that firm and temperate ſtyle which was at once calculated to maintain the honor of government, and to appeaſe the diſcontents and apprehenſions of the people. In a very important ſeparate diſpatch to Sir Francis

The cider tax, ſo odious to the nation, was, in the courſe of the ſeſſion, as to its moſt obnoxious clauſes, and ſo far as its operation extended to private individuals, repealed. The oppreſſive and juſtly unpopular duty on windows was modified and mitigated. General warrants were, by a reſolution of the houſe of commons, declared illegal;—various uſeful and important regulations made in the Weſt India and American trade, and the many abſurd and pernicious reſtraints impoſed by the former miniſtry removed. Mr. Grenville, by the introduction of certain new and onerous clauſes into the *hovering act*, and rigorouſly enforcing the execution of them, by ſtationing a long and formidable line of ſhips of war off the American coaſts, had, as has been already intimated,

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Francis Bernard, governor of the Maſſachuſetts, this miniſter ſays: "Nothing will tend more effectually to every conciliating purpoſe, and there is nothing therefore I have in command more earneſtly to require of you, than that you ſhould exert yourſelf in *recommending* it ſtrongly to the aſſembly, that full and ample compenſation be made to thoſe who, from the madneſs of the people, have ſuffered for their deference to the acts of the Britiſh legiſlature." Notwithſtanding the moderation which now pervaded the Engliſh councils, and which dictated the diſpatch received by the governor, it is very remarkable that the ſpeech by which Sir Francis Bernard opened the next general court of the Maſſachuſetts, June 1766, breathes the ſpirit of haughtineſs, irritation, and diſcord. "He declares the juſtice and humanity of this *requiſition* to be ſo forcible that it cannot be controverted. The *authority* by which it is introduced ſhould preclude all diſputations about complying with it." In a tone of reproach he adds—"Both the buſineſs and the time are moſt critical. Let me entreat you to recollect yourſelves, and conſider well what you are about—Shall the private intereſts, paſſions, or reſentments of a few men deprive this whole people of the great and manifold advantages which the favor and indulgence of their ſovereign and his parliament are now providing for them? Surely, after his majeſty's COMMANDS are known, the very perſons who have created the prejudices and prepoſſeſſions I now endeavor to combat, will be the firſt to remove them."—It did not appear, by their ſubſequent conduct, that the aſſembly were at all diſpoſed to reſiſt the *recommendation* enjoined in the letter of the ſecretary, which, in their reply to the governor, they declare their reſolution to embrace the firſt convenient opportunity to conſider and act upon. But, highly offended at the general ſtrain and tenor of the governor's ſpeech, they add, "In the mean time we cannot but obſerve, that it is conceived in much higher and ſtronger terms in the ſpeech than in the letter. Whether in thus exceeding your excellency ſpeaks from your own authority or a HIGHER, is not with us to determine. If this recommendation, which your excellency terms a *requiſition*, be founded on ſo much juſtice and humanity that it cannot be controverted—if the *authority* with which it is introduced ſhould preclude all diſputation about complying with it; we ſhould be glad to know what freedom we have in the caſe?—With regard to the reſt of your excellency's ſpeech, we are conſtrained to obſerve, that the general air and ſtyle of it ſavors much more of an act of free grace and pardon, than of a parliamentary addreſs to the two houſes of aſſembly; and we moſt ſincerely wiſh your excellency had been pleaſed to reſerve it, if needful, for a proclamation."

mated, in a great degree ſucceeded in his project of deſtroying the contraband trade from time immemorial carried on between the Britiſh colonies and the Spaniſh Main, and which was in fact equally conducive to the proſperity, if not eſſential to the exiſtence, of both. So oppoſite were the commercial politics of this weak and opinionated miniſter to thoſe of his predeceſſor Sir Robert Walpole, who, on being urged to adopt meaſures to the ſame effect replied, "that he ſhould think himſelf ill employed in ſuch an attempt; for he was certain, that if America gained 500,000l. by this traffic, 250,000l. of it would find its way to England."

A new and beneficial treaty of commerce was alſo concluded with Ruſſia; the long conteſted affair of the Canada bills ſettled to the ſatisfaction of the holders, and ſtrong and effectual remonſtrances made to the French court for the more complete demolition of the harbor and fortifications of Dunkirk. Notwithſtanding, however, the happy effects ſo viſibly reſulting from the general ſpirit and diſpoſition, yet more than the acts of this adminiſtration, the tranquillity at home and the reputation abroad which they had already eſtabliſhed; ſcarcely were the miniſters fixed in their offices, than a ſecret reſolution was taken to remove them. The repeal of the ſtamp act was a meaſure odious to the cabinet of Carlton Houſe, and it was inceſſantly inveighed againſt, both in and out of parliament, by the adherents and partiſans of the Favorite—men who preſumed to arrogate to themſelves the appellation of the KING'S FRIENDS—as a dereliction of the honor and dignity of government.

"During the adminiſtration of the marquis of Rockingham, ſays a celebrated writer, "an attempt was made to carry on the government without the concurrence of the CABAL, and to reſtore the principles and policy of the whigs. But this was only a tranſient cloud. No one will doubt that ſuch men were abhorred and violently oppoſed by the court faction, and that ſuch a ſyſtem could have but a ſhort duration. This plan of FAVORITISM is the fountain of all thoſe bitter waters of which the nation has been made ſo deeply to drink. There has not been one adminiſtration which has not ſufficiently experienced the utter incompatibility of that faction with the public peace, and with all the ends of good government; ſince, if they oppoſed it, they ſoon loſt every power of ſerving the crown; if they ſubmitted to it, they loſt all the eſteem of their country.*."

Lord BUTE, underſtanding the perfect concurrence of lord Temple with his brother Mr. Grenville on the ſubject of American politics, and that he had even declared the repeal of the ſtamp act to be a virtual ſurrender of the authority of the Britiſh legiſlature over the colonies, determined upon making advances to his lordſhip in order to form a new adminiſtration. Lord Temple, who appears to have been a man upright, diſintereſted, ſincere, poſſeſſing an high ſenſe of honor, gracious in his manners, but ſtiff in his opinions, and endowed with a capacity not perhaps much more elevated than that of his brother the late miniſter, refuſed with little ceremony to hearken to any propoſitions from a quarter ſo obnoxious. During the progreſs of the bill of repeal through the houſe of peers, it was more than inſinuated by the Favorite himſelf, that the repeal was a meaſure very diſagreeable to the king;—upon which lord Rockingham aſſerted, that his majeſty's approbation of the meaſure was clear and unequivocal. Notwithſtanding which, lord Strange the next day repeated the aſſertion, that the king highly diſapproved the bill. On this lord Rockingham, greatly ſurpriſed, requeſted, at the next audience, his majeſty's opinion in writing; but this was refuſed, and the new miniſters were now convinced that they had loſt, or rather that they had never poſſeſſed, his majeſty's confidence.

An unſucceſsful effort was now made to effect an accommodation between the whigs in and out of office: and an interview took place between lord Rockingham and lord Chatham. In the courſe of the conference, lord Chatham declaring "that for this purpoſe a TRANSPOSITION of OFFICES would be neceſſary," and this expreſſion being ſuppoſed to imply the removal of Lord Rockingham from the treaſury, the negotiation was diſſolved in its very commencement. A difference ariſing ſoon after this, between the miniſters and the chancellor, reſpecting the plan or project of a conſtitution for the province of Canada, which the chancellor, naturally moroſe and ſurly, and who had never been cordially their friend, condemned in terms of indignation and intemperance, the cabinet of Carlton Houſe were again encouraged to renew their efforts for the forming of a new adminiſtration; and, for this purpoſe, it was determined to offer Mr. Pitt a *carte blanche.* Mr. Pitt being introduced to the king at Richmond (July 12, 1766), was told by his majeſty, that he had no terms to propoſe. He put himſelf entirely into his hands. Mr. Pitt, now in the fulneſs of exultation, ſent immediately for lord Temple, then at Stowe, and acquainted his lordſhip, that being empowered by his majeſty to form an adminiſtration, he was deſirous to ſee his lordſhip at the head of the treaſury, he himſelf purpoſing to take the poſt of privy ſeal; at the ſame time producing a liſt of names deſtined to occupy the other great departments of government. Lord Temple ſaid, "he did not conceive, from the tenor of the conference with which he alſo had been honored by the king, that Mr. Pitt was to be *abſolute maſter*; if he had been previouſly ſo informed, he ſhould not have given himſelf or Mr. Pitt the trouble of this viſit, being determined to come in upon an equality with Mr. Pitt; and in caſe he were to occupy the moſt reſponſible place under government, he ſhould inſiſt upon the introduction of ſome of his friends into the cabinet, and he thought Mr. Pitt muſt be ſenſible he could not come in with honor unleſs he was allowed his ſhare of the nomination. It was his idea to conciliate and unite all parties, which was the ground on which Mr. Pitt's former glorious adminiſtration had been erected; but if Mr. Pitt inſiſted upon a ſuperior dictation, he deſired the conference might be broken off, for that he would would not ſubmit to the propoſed condition." Mr. Pitt, firm to his purpoſe, and dreading with reaſon, notwithſtanding his perſonal regard and affection for lord Temple, the predominance of the Grenville intereſt in the new cabinet, refuſed to recede in any point from the arrangement he had formed; and lord Temple finally withdrew, full of reſentment.

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* Thoughts on the cauſes of the preſent diſcontents.

At the latter end of July 1766, the duke of Grafton, who had ſome months before reſigned the ſeals, "not from any objection, as his grace declared in parliament, to the perſons or meaſures of the late miniſters, but becauſe they did not poſſeſs that efficiency which was neceſſary to their ſucceſs," was now appointed to the high office of firſt lord commiſſioner of the treaſury; the right honorable Charles Townſhend, a man of riſing parliamentary reputation and brilliant talents, but capricious, inſincere, intriguing, and wholly deſtitute of diſcretion or ſolidity, being made chancellor of the exchequer. The earl of Shelburne, in the room of the duke of Richmond, was nominated ſecretary of ſtate for the ſouthern department, general Conway being continued in poſſeſſion of the northern. Sir Charles Saunders was placed at the head of the admiralty, in the room of lord Egmont; lord chief juſtice Pratt, who had been recently created lord Camden, was declared chancellor of Great Britain; the earl of Northington ſucceeded the earl of Winchelſea as preſident of the council; and Mr. Pitt, being advanced to the peerage by the title of earl of Chatham, choſe for himſelf the office of lord privy ſeal, vacated by the duke of Newcaſtle. The earl of Briſtol was nominated to the government of Ireland, of which he never took poſſeſſion; the adminiſtration of affairs in that kingdom remaining with the lords juſtices, till at a ſubſequent period it was conſigned to lord Townſhend. Lord Rockingham retired from office with an high character for pure and diſintereſted patriotiſm, and without ſecuring place, penſion, or reverſion to himſelf or any of his adherents. The numerous addreſſes of approbation preſented to this nobleman from the different cities and towns throughout the kingdom, on his unmerited diſmiſſion, ſufficiently proved the juſt ſenſe entertained of his eminent ſervices. The merchants of London trading to the Weſt Indies and North America expreſſed their ſentiments in a manner peculiarly reſpectful and flattering; "We beg leave," ſay they, "when, your lordſhip being no longer in a public ſtation, we are exempt from even the ſuſpicion of flattery, to expreſs our ſenſe of the eſſential benefits received during your lordſhip's adminiſtration; a period ſhort indeed, but truly memorable for the nobleſt exertions of a patriot miniſtry in favor of the civil and commercial intereſts of theſe kingdoms; happily diſpelling the threatening clouds which hung over us, and opening a ſyſtem of commerce liberal and uſeful beyond all former example."

On lord Rockingham's retiring to his manſion in the north, he was met near the city of York by a cavalcade of 200 gentlemen. Addreſſes, during his reſidence there, were preſented to him by the towns of Leeds, Halifax, Hull, Wakefield, and York, expreſſive of the higheſt reſpect, gratitude, and eſteem. Such was at this period the happy aſcendancy of whig principles in the nation, and ſuch the contrariety between the court and country ſyſtems of politics. It is ſurely ſuperfluous to ſay, that the new miniſterial arrangement very ill accorded with the idea of that firm, efficient, and extended adminiſtration which was calculated to reſtore the empire, weakened and diſtracted by the late political contentions and animoſities, to its former enviable ſtate of fame and felicity. Mr. Pitt, by imperiouſly inſiſting on the ſole nomination of the cabinet miniſters, too plainly appeared ambitious to ſecure to himſelf a monopoly of power; vainly and unreaſonably preſuming, that thoſe who owed to his recommendation their advancement, would in all things ſubmit themſelves to his guidance and direction. The principal ſource of the *popular* diſcontent[*] however aroſe from the unexpected circumſtance of Mr. Pitt's acceptance of a peerage, in conſequence of which he was ſuppoſed to be *gained over* by the court. He had been ſo long diſtinguiſhed by the title of the GREAT COMMONER, and had on ſo many occaſions profeſſed himſelf the champion of the PEOPLE, that they had flattered themſelves no other title could have for him equal attraction. He had now voluntarily diſſolved that connection which was formerly his pride and his boaſt. He was no longer *one of the people*; and the people, conceiving their peculiar intereſts henceforth neglected, perhaps abandoned, no longer repoſed their truſt and confidence in him. Thus, what he gained in dignity he loſt in popularity and power: and even impartial and diſpaſſionate perſons were of opinion, that though there was nothing in his acceptance of a peerage which neceſſarily implied a dereliction of principle, yet, in his peculiar circumſtances, it afforded ſuch a preſumption of vanity and verſatility as might eaſily excite, and in ſome degree excuſe, the anger and prejudice now prevailing againſt him.—But before we enter upon the intereſting events which took place under the new adminiſtration, events ſo nearly affecting the welfare and even the exiſtence of the Britiſh empire in the Weſt, it will be expedient to advert to thoſe tranſactions in the Eaſt, which, in conſequence of the aſtoniſhing ſucceſſes of the Engliſh arms in India, muſt now be regarded as forming an eſſential part of the general hiſtory of the Britiſh nation.

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[*] The diſſenſions prevailing amongſt the patriotic leaders of the oppoſition, or WHIG party, at this period, at once gratified the malignity and facilitated the manœuvres of the PANDEMONIUM of Carlton-Houſe. The Newcaſtle or Rockingham connection, acceding with improvident eagerneſs to the overtures of the court, after the poſitive rejection of the lords Chatham and Temple, quickly found their adminiſtration reſted on a baſis much too weak to be permanent. Lord Chatham, ſubſequently inveſted with full powers, inſtigated by ambition and reſentment, fell into that fatal error which he afterwards ſo deeply and bitterly lamented. On the total failure of his high and ſanguine expectations, he ſaw how greatly he had deviated from the path of true wiſdom, in not adopting a plan of generous and liberal comprehenſion. In the celebrated pamphlet already quoted, are to be found many memorable obſervations relative to the ſyſtem of court policy, introduced at the acceſſion of the preſent ſovereign. "To ſecure to the court," ſays this then patriotic writer, "the unlimited and uncontrolled uſe of its own vaſt influence, under the ſole direction of its own private favor, has for ſome years paſt been the great object of policy. For the future, court and adminiſtration were to be conſidered as things totally different. By this operation, two ſyſtems of adminiſtration were to be formed: one which ſhould be in the real ſecret and confidence; the other merely oſtenſible, to perform the official and executory offices of the ſtate. This COURT FACTION proceeded gradually, but not ſlowly, to deſtroy every thing of ſtrength which did not derive its principal nouriſhment from the immediate pleaſure of the court *Mettre le Roi hors de page* became a ſort of watch-word; as a foundation of their ſcheme, the CABAL have eſtabliſhed à ſort of *rota* in the court. All ſorts of parties by this means have been brought into adminiſtration, from whence few have had the good fortune to eſcape without diſgrace. In the beginning of each arrangement, no profeſſions of confidence and ſupport are wanting to induce the leading men to engage. But while the miniſters of the day appear in all the pomp and pride of power, while they have all their canvas ſpread out to the wind, and every ſail filled with the fair and proſperous gale of royal favour, they find, *they know not how*, a current which ſets directly againſt them, which prevents all progreſs, which even drives them backwards. That the CABAL may be enabled to compaſs all the ends of its inſtitution, its members are ſcarcely ever to aim at the high and reſponſible offices of the ſtate. They are diſtributed with art and judgment through all the ſecondary but efficient departments of office, and through the houſeholds of all the branches of the royal family. If an attack be made upon one of this corps, immediately he flies to ſanctuary, and pretends *to the moſt inviolable of all promiſes*. Conſcious of their independence, they bear themſelves with a lofty air to the exterior miniſters. Like JANISSARIES, they derive a kind of freedom from the very condition of their ſervitude. They may act juſt as they pleaſe, provided they are true to the ruling principle of their inſtitution. The name by which they chooſe to diſtinguiſh themſelves, is that of the KING'S FRIENDS. The whole ſyſtem, compriſing the exterior and interior adminiſtrations, is commonly called, in the technical language of the court, *double cabinet*—in French or Engliſh as you chooſe to pronounce it."

The WAR on the continent of HINDOSTAN terminated, as we have ſeen, in the entire ſubverſion of the Gallic empire in the Eaſt. By the peace of Fontainebleau, Pondicherry, Chandernagore, and the other ſettlements of France had indeed been reſtored; but the aſcendancy acquired by England was ſo great, that a political competition could ſcarcely be ſaid in the preſent ſituation of things to exiſt. The events ſucceeding the memorable revolution of 1757 in Bengal, and which it will now be proper in a clear and ſummary manner to recount, ſeemed, in ſplendor and magnitude, to ſurpaſs all former exploits, and to make the wonders recorded by ancient hiſtorians of Alexander and Lucullus credible. No ſooner was Meer Jaffier Ally Khan inveſted with the ſovereign authority as Subah of Bengal and its dependencies, than he appeared, as might well be expected, filled with all thoſe apprehenſions and jealouſies of the Engliſh power by which his predeceſſor Su-Rajah Dowla had been actuated. He augmented his army by numerous levies, at the ſame time pleading inability to diſcharge the arrears due by treaty to the company. Being, however, compelled to take the field againſt Ramnarain, the Nabob of Patna, who refuſed to acknowledge his authority, he found it neceſſary to ſolicit aid of the governor and council at Calcutta; and colonel Clive, by their order, accordingly joined him with his troops, firſt conditioning that the revenues of the diſtricts of Burdwan, Nuddea, and Houghley, ſhould be aſſigned over in perpetuity to the company. On the approach of the Subah and the Engliſh general, Ramnarain ſubmitted, and was confirmed in his government moſt reluctantly by Meer Jaffier, through the mediation of colonel Clive, who ſaw that he might prove an uſeful check on the too great power of the Subah. The *phirmaund* of the Emperor now arrived, by which Meer Jaffier was declared lawful poſſeſſor of the Subahdary, and colonel Clive was created an Omrah of the empire; receiving alſo from the bounty of the Emperor the titles of Zubdut-Ulmulk, Nuſſeera-Dowla, Sabut-Jung-Bahader; *i. e.* the perfection of the empire, the ſword of victory, the experienced warrior.

On the 23d of June 1758, the anniverſary of the victory of Plaſſey, colonel Clive was nominated to the government of Bengal, and the Subah paid him on this occaſion a viſit in perſon at Calcutta, where he was magnificently entertained, and returned apparently well ſatisfied to his capital of Moorſhedabad. New cauſes of diſcord however ſoon aroſe. Sha Zadda, eldeſt ſon of the Emperor, and heir to the imperial crown of Hindoſtan, at this period left ſecretly the Court of Dehli, where his father, oppreſſed by a tyrannic and rebellious faction headed by the prime Vizier, poſſeſſed ſcarcely the ſhadow of authority, and appeared in arms on the frontier of the Subah's dominions, having actually paſſed the Carumnaſſa, which is the boundary of the province of Bahar, and being on full march towards the city of Patna. Ramnarain, thinking this a fair and inviting opportunity to accompliſh his own ambitious views, declared in favor of the prince. In this exigency, Meer Jaffier, not being able to depend on his native forces, who mutinouſly demanded the payment of their arrears, applied to the council at Calcutta for aid and aſſiſtance. Colonel Clive immediately put his troops in motion, and arrived at Moorſhedabad the 20th of March 1759. From this city he diſpatched a letter to Ramnarain, reminding him "that it was through his mediation he had been confirmed in his government; that he looked upon himſelf therefore as reſponſible to the Subah for his fidelity; that if he offered to ſwerve from his duty, he ſhould feel his utmoſt reſentment; for which purpoſe he was marching towards him with all expedition." Intimidated by this letter, Ramnarain ſhut the gates of Patna againſt the prince, who, ſurpriſed and enraged at this ſudden change, inſtantly commenced the ſiege of the city, which was on the point of ſurrender, when colonel Clive, whoſe army had marched 400 miles in twenty-three days, appeared in view. The prince immediately withdrew his army, which, notwithſtanding its prodigious ſuperiority of numbers, ſeemed to think it vain to contend. On the 10th of April the colonel entered Patna in triumph; and, at the requeſt of the ſubah, quickly reduced to ſubmiſſion the rajahs inhabiting the interior of the country, who had joined the Sha Zadda. This unfortunate prince, perceiving the colonel to be the grand and almoſt ſole obſtacle to his ſucceſs, repreſented in a pathetic letter the peculiar wretchedneſs of his fate; "that, though born to a crown, the perſecution of the vizier had not left him a ſpot to reſt on; that he had no intentions againſt Meer Jaffier's life or government; that all he aimed at was to collect a force to make head againſt the vizier; and that, if it pleaſed God to favor his cauſe, the colonel might command any advantages for the company or himſelf."

ſelf." But the colonel, conſulting with Ramnarain and the ſon of the ſubah, thought it dangerous that a prince of the blood ſhould be allowed a refuge or aſylum in any of the provinces; that it might prove a conſtant ſource of plots and conſpiracies againſt the ſubah, would draw on him the reſentment of the vizier, and finally involve the country in troubles. The colonel, therefore, in a reſpectful letter, informed the prince of the deciſion of the ſubah, under whoſe orders he profeſſed to act; and on the 14th of January 1760, colonel Clive, intending to return to Europe, reſigned the command to colonel Caillaud at Moorſhedabad.

Sha Zadda, hopeleſs of relief from the Engliſh, took advantage of the abſence of the commander: and, previous to the expected arrival of his ſucceſſor, he attacked and totally defeated Ramnarain, and immediately re-inveſted Patna. But before the end of February, colonel Caillaud arriving with a large reinforcement of Europeans, the ſiege was again raiſed; and a general engagement taking place, the prince, now, in conſequence of the death of his father, declared emperor of Hindoſtan, by the name of Sha Allum, was defeated with loſs, and compelled, not however without a vigorous reſiſtance on his part, to retreat back to the Carumnaſſa. In the ſummer of 1760, Mr. Vanſittart arrived at Calcutta as governor general, and ſucceſſor to colonel Clive: and in a ſelect committee convened by him, September 15, and veſted with the efficient powers of the council, a diſpoſition appeared to adopt meaſures very oppoſite to thoſe which had been of late purſued. It was ſaid, "that in conſequence of the recent ſucceſſes of the prince's partiſans in the city and vicinity of Dehli, his affairs wore a far more favorable aſpect than formerly; that experience demonſtrated, that repeated victories over the prince did not deprive him of the means of renewing his attempts; that the whole conduct of the ſubah and of his ſon had been in the higheſt degree unjuſt, treacherous, and ungrateful; that no ſooner was Meer Jaffier in poſſeſſion of the government, than a party was

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ſormed at the Durbar, headed by the young Nabob, who were daily planning ſchemes to ſhake off their dependence on the Engliſh; and that the Subah himſelf, weak and irreſolute, too ſoon fell into theſe ſentiments; that we had, in fine, drawn our ſwords in ſupport of a family unworthy to reign, and this to the manifeſt hazard and ruin of the company's trade and concerns. It was therefore unanimouſly determined, that the entering into an alliance with the prince was a neceſſary and expedient meaſure; that to ſupport him in his pretenſions to the crown of Dehli will be in its immediate conſequences the means of clearing Bengal of a dangerous enemy, and probably of enſuring ultimate ſucceſs to his juſt claims on the empire; in which caſe, WHAT ADVANTAGES MAY NOT THE COMPANY EXPECT?" The principal obſtacle to the accompliſhment of this new project, was the irreconcilable enmity ſubſiſting between the prince and the ſubah. It was believed that Meer Jaffier could by no arguments be induced to enter into theſe views; and that Sha Allum would not, without extreme reluctance, be prevailed upon to confirm the Subah in his government. It therefore became a neceſſary part of the plan to diveſt the Subah of that authority which it was pretended he had ſo groſsly abuſed; and it was ſecretly reſolved to raiſe Coſſim Ally Khan his ſon-in-law to the entire management of affairs, leaving to Meer Jaffier the mere name of Subah. At a conference held by governor Vanſittart with the Subah, October 18th, 1760, he therefore preſented to him a memorial, containing a long ſtatement of the grievances and oppreſſions which had taken place under his government through the influence of evil counſellors, and *recommending* to him to nominate ſome co-adjutor in the government, on whoſe attachment and fidelity he might rely—inſinuating, that Coſſim Ally Khan was the moſt proper perſon to aſſiſt him in his preſent exigencies. "It evidently appears," ſays the governor in his memorial, "that your miniſters, ſince the death of your ſon the late Chuta Nabob, regarding only their own intereſts, neglect the good of the country and the welfare of the ſubjects, and employ themſelves in oppreſſing the poor, in rapine, violence, injuſtice, and iniquity*. When I ſaw the affairs of government in the hands of ſuch unworthy men, and every thing tending ſtill farther to ruin, I lifted up my eyes to Heaven, and bewailed my ſtrange fate, that providence ſhould ſend me into this country, at ſuch a time, and in the midſt of ſuch calamities." The Subah ſeemed much affected, and at length confeſſed himſelf through age and grief incapable, ſince the death of his ſon, of ſtruggling againſt ſo many difficulties. On his departure, it was determined to take immediate and effectual meaſures to carry the purpoſe of the council into execution.

The 19th of October is celebrated amongſt the Gentoos as a grand feſtival; and this being ſuppoſed a favourable circumſtance, to obviate ſuſpicion, colonel Caillaud was ordered to croſs the river between three and four o'clock in the morning; and having joined Coſſim Ally Khan, they immediately marched their troops to the palace of the Subah, and ſurrounded it juſt at day-break. The gates being ſhut, the colonel formed his men without. and ſent in a letter, addreſſed by the governor to the Subah, in which he declares, "that he has detached an armed force in order to expel his bad counſellors, and to place his affairs *in a proper ſtate.* Let not, ſays the governor, your excellency be under any apprehenſions—I ſolemnly declare, *I have no other views but your good.*" The ſubah, in a rage, at firſt threatened reſiſtance; but his reſolution ſoon failed, in conſequence of repeated meſſages from the Engliſh commander, who at laſt openly declared, that if the ſubah any longer delayed compliance,

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* Nevertheleſs, during the life time of the Chota Nabob, he was conſtantly repreſented as the chief cauſe of the diſorders prevailing under the Subah's government, and the diſpatches of the times are filled with complaints of his civil and military miſconduct. In the courſe of the late campaign, he was found dead in his tent, killed, as colonel Caillaud ſuppoſes, by *a flaſh of lightning.* The troops which accompanied governor Vanſittart to Moorſhedabad were ſaid to be intended as a reinforcement to the garriſon of Patna.

pliance, he ſhould be obliged to STORM the PALACE. His excellency, aſtoniſhed and terrified at this menace, and exclaiming, "that no oaths could bind the Engliſh," profeſſed his willingneſs to abdicate the government in favor of Coſſim Ally Khan, on condition that his life and honor were ſafe, and an allowance ſecured to him ſufficient for his maintenance. Theſe terms being acceded to, the ſubah ſurrendered himſelf to the colonel, aſking permiſſion to reſide under the protection of the Britiſh government at Calcutta, which was readily granted him. Coſſim Ally Khan was now proclaimed in form, ſubah of the three provinces; and, being ſeated on the throne, received the congratulations of the governor and principal inhabitants of the city; in which no tumult or diſturbance aroſe, or was in the event occaſioned, by this ſudden and extraordinary revolution. By the terms of an agreement or treaty previouſly ſigned at Calcutta, Coſſim Ally Khan, in reward of this great ſervice, reſigned to the company the entire revenue of certain diſtricts of the Subahdary; alſo engaging for the ſpeedy payment of the great arrears due from Meer Jaffier. Five lacks of rupees were preſented as an immediate aid from the new Subah, for the uſe of the army then before Pondicherry; and preſident Vanſittart, Mr. Holwell, Mr. Sumner, and colonel Caillaud, who compoſed the *ſelect committee*, were pleaſed to ſignify their acceptance of "a free gift" of twenty lacks of rupees, a ſum equivalent to about 230,000l. when the more urgent demands upon the treaſury of the ſubah were ſatisfied, as a *compliment* from the ſubah, and a *voluntary* mark of his affection and regard.

Mr. Amyatt, Mr. Verelſt, and the remaining members of the ſupreme council, who, not being of the ſelect committee, were not in the ſecret of this revolution, and who did not participate in any of the advantages reſulting from it, expreſſed in very indignant terms their entire diſapprobation of the whole tranſaction. They declare in a long and elaborate memorial, tranſmitted by the council to the court of directors, "their belief that few will imagine Meer Jaffier to have been depoſed by reaſon either of a want of ability to rule, or of his bad principles; they would willingly ſuppoſe, that it proceeded rather from the want of a true knowledge of the country policy, and from an error of judgment, had not Mr. Vanſittart and others made no ſecret that a preſent was promiſed them, by Coſſim Ally Khan, of twenty lacks of rupees. They pronounce Coſſim to have been a man deteſted and deſpiſed, before his elevation to the *Muſnud*; and that the people in general were extremely diſſatisfied with this revolution. They expreſs their aſtoniſhment at the preſumption of Mr. Vanſittart, who, not having been as yet three months in Bengal, had taken upon him to annul a treaty ratified in the moſt ſolemn manner by admiral Watſon and colonel Clive, guarantied by the credit of the company and the honor of the nation. If, ſay they, the preſent ſubah has purchaſed the power he is inveſted with, it is to be expected that he will immediately indemnify himſelf by extortion and oppreſſion; and as the fate of Jaffier Ally Khan muſt have convinced him how little we regard the moſt ſolemn engagements, he will of neceſſity endeavor to eſtabliſh himſelf on a foundation leſs precarious than that of the Engliſh." This prediction of the council was unfortunately but too ſoon verified. The cruelty, the tyranny, and miſconduct alleged as the cauſes of the depoſition of Meer Jaffier, were magnified in a tenfold proportion under the adminiſtration of Coſſim, who was with difficulty prevented from making the aſſaſſination of Meer Jaffier the firſt act of his government. So little weight, however, had the repreſentations and reaſonings of the council in England, that the court of directors, highly delighted with the conduct of the new governor, paſſed a reſolution, "That as the great increaſe of revenue ariſing out of the provinces ceded by Coſſim Ally Khan, and the vaſt improvement of thoſe revenues, are principally owing to the wiſe, prudent, and *diſintereſted* conduct of preſident Vanſittart, he ſhall be allowed a commiſſion of two and a half per cent. on all ſuch nett revenues as may ariſe out of the above-mentioned grants, ſo long as he ſhall continue in the government of Bengal."

On the final reduction of the French ſettlements on the coaſt of Coromandel, colonel Coote repaired to Bengal, where he arrived January 1761, and immediately took upon him the command of the army at Patna. In compliance with the new plan adopted by the preſident, he informed the prince Sha Zadda, now ſtyling himſelf Sha Allum and GREAT MOGUL, of the favorable ſentiments of the Engliſh reſpecting him, and their deſire to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power; which the prince heard with extreme ſatisfaction: and being then actually on his march to join Sujah ul Dowla, Nabob of Oude (a large and rich province contiguous to Bengal), and hereditary Vizier of the empire, who had recently declared in his favor[*], it was agreed, with the concurrence of Coſſim, that major Carnac, with part of the army, ſhould eſcort him to the limits of the Subah's dominions; and that, immediately on his repaſſing the Carumnaſſa, he ſhould be proclaimed emperor at Patna. No ſooner however was Sha Allum departed, than Coſſim, anxious to eſtabliſh his independency, retracted all the promiſes he had made, and abſolutely refuſed to acknowledge the prince as emperor; offering at the ſame time a large ſum to colonel Coote to deliver up Ramnarain, the firm friend of the Engliſh, and not leſs the object of the preſent than of the late ſubah's jealouſy and hatred. This the colonel poſitively refuſed; but receiving a ſubſequent order from the SELECT COMMITTEE, *to withdraw his protection from Ramnarain*, that unfortunate man was immediately ſeized and aſſaſſinated.

On the 24th of June 1761, Sha Allum paſſed the Carumnaſſa, and was met at a few miles diſtance by Sujah ul

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[*] It may be proper to remark, that the hereditary vizier of the empire is a perſonage very different from the prime vizier, who reſides at Dehli, and holds his office at the pleaſure of the emperor. The hereditary vizier is nabob of Oude, from the poſſeſſion of which he derives his real power and importance; the dignity of perpetual and hereditary vizier being merely nominal and honorary.

Dowla; but the differences which aroſe, and daily increaſed, between the Engliſh and Coſſim, prevented his receiving that powerful aid which he had flattered himſelf would enable him to march without oppoſition to the gates of Dehli. Coſſim's implacable hatred and jealouſy of the Engliſh ſhewed itſelf in every part of his conduct: he removed the ſeat of government from Moorſhedabad, as too near Calcutta, to Mongheer, and was employed in building, in a ſituation yet more remote, a ſtrong fortreſs for his future reſidence at Raja-maul. He had cauſed to be apprehended many of the principal perſons of the country, diſtinguiſhed for their attachment to the Engliſh; he was diligently employed in recruiting and diſciplining his army; caſhiering all thoſe officers, and even regiments, whom he ſuſpected of ſecretly inclining to the Engliſh intereſt. At length matters were brought to a criſis by the barbarous murder of Mr. Amyatt and his ſuite, returning under the faith of a ſafe-conduct from an embaſſy to the court of the ſubah. This is a cataſtrophe involved in great obſcurity. It appears that Coſſim, ſome time after his elevation to the *Muſnud*, had concluded with the preſident Vanſittart a commercial treaty, by which heavy duties were impoſed on the inland trade carried on by the company's ſervants. In a letter written by the preſident to the ſubah, he ſays, "Your gracious *perwannah* is arrived, and has greatly honored me. I am informed of all the particulars of your high commands. It ſhall be written to the chiefs of our factories, that they are to give a *duſtuck* for the buying and ſelling of ſhip merchandize, &c. paying in upon the coſt of the merchandize nine per cent.; nor ſhall they uſe any manner of force or violence, extortion, or unfair dealing." The factory of Dacca complained to the council at Calcutta, that they muſt be abſolutely undone if this treaty were carried into execution. The council voted it to be diſhonorable, diſadvantageous, and a breach of their privileges; and Mr. Amyatt and certain other gentlemen of the council were deputed to negotiate with the ſubah for better terms. But the ſubah inſiſted on the validity of the treaty concluded with the preſident Vanſittart. And on the 24th of June 1763, Mr. Amyatt and his company ſet out in boats on their return to Calcutta. Scarcely had they left the city of Moorſhedabad, before they were attacked and fired upon by ſeparate parties of the ſubah's troops ſtationed on both banks of the river; but whether through miſapprehenſion or by deſign, is not clearly aſcertained. That Coſſim knew how decidedly hoſtile to his intereſts had been the conduct of Mr. Amyatt, cannot be doubted; and the cruel and revengeful diſpoſition of the ſubah renders the ſurmiſe of an intentional maſſacre but too probable.

On the intelligence of this calamitous event, the preſident Vanſittart no longer ventured to oppoſe the determination of the council to declare war againſt Coſſim. War was therefore declared in the month of July 1763, and a proclamation at the ſame time iſſued for the reſtoration of Meer Jaffier to the ſubahſhip, which was now ſaid to be the leaſt atonement that could be made him for his unjuſt depoſition. Colonel Coote being departed for Europe, the chief command of the army devolved on Major Adams, who, being joined by Major Carnac, forced his way, in ſpite of all oppoſition, to the capital of Moorſhedabad, which he immediately attacked and carried by ſtorm. Major Adams ſoon afterwards received a letter from Coſſim, threatening, if he advanced farther, to cut off the Engliſh gentlemen who were his priſoners. Secret intelligence having been given to Mr. Ellis, chief of the factory, and the other gentlemen, of their danger, and exhorting them to endeavour to purchaſe their liberty of the guard ſet over them at any rate, they nobly replied, "that no attention ought to be given to them, and that they were ready to ſubmit to their fate." The two armies at length met, Auguſt 2, on the plains of Geriah; the army of Coſſim being reported to amount to 60,000 men, and the Engliſh not exceeding 3000 firelocks. After an obſtinate diſpute of four hours, a complete victory was gained;

the enemy abandoning their cannon and 150 boats on the river Coſſimbuzar, laden with grain and other ſtores. The army then proceeded to Mongheer and Patna, of which important places they made themſelves in a ſhort time maſters; after which Coſſim made no farther ſtand, but with the ſhattered remains of his army, and all his treaſures, retreated, by means of a bridge of boats which he had thrown acroſs the Ganges, into the territories of Sujah ul Dowla, having firſt ſignalized his flight by the infamous maſſacre, in cold blood, of all his priſoners, amongſt whom were about 200 Engliſh of all ranks civil and military. No ſooner was the council at Calcutta apprized that Coſſim had taken refuge in the province of Oude, than a peremptory requiſition was made to the nabob vizier to ſeize and deliver him up, with all his effects. The vizier, however, far from being inclined to comply with this demand, was actually concerting meaſures with the Mogul Sha Allum, for reſtoring Coſſim to his dominions. "CONSIDER," ſaid the vizier, in a letter written by him to Major Carnac, to whom the command of the army had now devolved, "how the kings of Hindoſtan have given your company ſettlements and factories, exempted them from duties, and conferred greater privileges upon them than upon other Europeans, or the merchants of their own dominions. Notwithſtanding all theſe favors, you have been guilty of ingratitude to the court. You have turned aſide from your former paths, and have been continually marching your troops into the king's country. You have preſumed to remove the officers of the Imperial court, and to turn out and eſtabliſh nabobs: WHAT KIND OF BEHAVIOUR IS THIS? In caſe you have your king's or your company's orders for theſe proceedings, be pleaſed to inform me of it, that I may ſhew a ſuitable reſentment. But if it is from your own inclinations that you carry on your evil deſigns, it is proper you ſhould deſiſt from ſuch proceedings." And in an expoſtulatory memorial or addreſs to the governor and council, accompanying the former, he thus expreſſes himſelf:——"Notwithſtanding the various favors ſhewn you, you have interfered in the king's country, poſſeſſed yourſelves of diſtricts belonging to the government, cruſhed the inhabitants by your acts of violence, and turned out and eſtabliſhed nabobs at pleaſure, without the conſent of the Imperial court, expoſing the government of the KING of KINGS to contempt and diſhonor. To what can theſe proceedings be attributed, but to a wicked deſign of ſeizing the country for yourſelves? Deſiſt from ſuch behavior in future; withdraw your people from every part, and ſend them to their own country; carry on the company's trade as formerly, and confine yourſelves to commercial affairs. In this caſe, the Imperial court will more than ever confer its favors upon you. If, which GOD forbid! you are haughty and diſobedient, the heads of the diſturbers ſhall be devoured by the ſword of juſtice, and you will feel the weight of his majeſty's diſpleaſure, which is the type of the wrath of GOD. Speedily ſend me your anſwer."—No anſwer however was thought neceſſary to remonſtrances, however forcible, accompanied by menaces ſo futile.

In the proſpect of an approaching rupture, it was determined, without farther negotiation or delay, to carry the war into Sujah ul Dowla's dominions. Meer Jaffier, nevertheleſs, diſcovered extreme reluctance to concur in this or any meaſure which might be conſtrued as a commencement of hoſtilities on his part. But the council adviſed the commander, Major Carnac, "that they would not have the operations of the war ſuſpended even for an hour; that they will enter into no treaty with Sujah ul Dowla, but on the condition of the delivery of Coſſim; that the Subah Meer Jaffier muſt not in the preſent circumſtances be allowed to carry on any correſpondence with Sujah ul Dowla, or to receive any *ſunnud* from the king, from whom they are apprehenſive he is deſirous to hold the Subahdary independent of their *protection*; but that *in all things* the ſubah muſt be entirely ruled by him while the war continues." The operations

rations of Major Carnac not being deemed by the council ſufficiently deciſive, that officer was ſuperſeded, and the command given to colonel, afterwards Sir Hector Monro, who, as ſoon as the periodical rains would permit, put himſelf at the head of the army, and advanced, on the 22d of October 1763, to Buxar, within ſight of the enemy, who lay encamped, with the Ganges on the left, and the fortreſs of Buxar in their rear. Early in the morning of the 23d, they were ſeen in motion, advancing, to the aſtoniſhment of the Engliſh commander, to the attack of the Engliſh camp. The action laſted three hours, and the Aſiatics then gave way in great confuſion, and were driven two miles beyond a rivulet, over which they had laid a bridge of boats. This being ſunk by thoſe who firſt paſſed, the rear of the nabob's army were drowned, or deſtroyed in the purſuit. The day after the battle, the MOGUL, who was little better than a ſtate priſoner in the hands of Sujah ul Dowla, wrote to the Engliſh commander, congratulating him on his victory, and deſiring the colonel to take him under the protection of the Engliſh, ſaying, if he would do this, he would give the Engliſh Sujah Dowla's country, or any thing elſe they pleaſed to demand. This propoſition being tranſmitted to and approved by the council, the MOGUL repaired to the Engliſh camp, where a treaty, previouſly prepared, was ſigned and executed.

At this period, the ſubah Meer Jaffier Ally Khan was taken ill at Moorſhedabad; and finding his diſorder rapidly increaſing, he ſent for his ſecond ſon Najim ul Dowla, the eldeſt now living, and delivered to him a paper of advice, recommending the rajah Nund-comar as his miniſter; and in the preſence of the Engliſh reſident, and other Engliſh gentlemen, deſired that his orders might be given to obey his ſon in every reſpect as they had done him. After this laſt exertion of authority and affection, he expired January 14, 1765.

An extraordinary embaſſy of condolence and congratulation was upon this occaſion ſent by the preſident and council at Calcutta, in the name of the company, to wait on Najim ul Dowla, of which the young ſubah himſelf, in a letter written to the committee at Calcutta, has tranſmitted ſome curious particulars. "Inſtead," ſays he, "of condolence and comfort, they began to encumber me with many troubleſome things;—they ſent out all the people preſent, together with my brother, Nabob Syfud Dowla, and then told me to ſend for Mahomed Reza Khan from Dacca, and ſet him up as naib of the Nizamut; ſaying, that till he arrived I muſt not ſit in the dewan. I deſired them to peruſe the paper of advice of my deceaſed father, who had always deemed Reza Khan his enemy. In anſwer to this they replied, 'Your paper of advice is of no force or virtue: every thing muſt be done as we think proper.' They preſented me with a paper (articles drawn up by the committee at Calcutta), and *requeſted* I would ſign it. I ſent for Meer Mahomed Irrick Khan, Mah-Rajah Nund-comar, &c. who acquainted the gentlemen that it was proper to peruſe it firſt. The gentlemen aſked, in a very angry manner, who they were that wanted to peruſe the paper?—adding, that if I did not ſet up Mahomed Reza Khan in his naibſhip, and immediately ſign the paper, I ſhould extremely repent it. On which I thought proper to ſign. There is nothing done with my will or order. Titles, employments, *kelauts*, elephants, horſes, and jewels, are diſtributed as he the aboveſaid Reza Khan pleaſes. The bad treatment I have received, and Mahomed Reza Khan's promotion, are to me as if I was day and night in a flame. On the firſt arrival of the *ambaſſadors* at the court of Moorſhedabad, they cauſed the following meſſage to be delivered by an agent named Mootyram, to Jugget Seet, a man of high rank at the ſubah's court, and entruſted with the cuſtody of his treaſures. 'Make us ſome acknowledgment, and we will ſettle all your buſineſs according to your heart's deſire; otherwiſe we ſhall be diſpleaſed, and your buſineſs meet with no aſſiſtance, for you formerly made an acknowledgment to lord Clive and other gentlemen.' I informed them, ſays Jugget Seet, that lord Clive never ſaid a word on this ſubject, and that I did not give him even a ſingle *daum*. They anſwered, 'You may not be acquainted with it, but your fathers made us acknowledgments—Give us five lacks: if you wiſh to have your buſineſs go freely on, make us ſome acknowledgements.' Being remedileſs, I conſented to give them 125,000 rupees. The money was ſent in a *ſtackeree*; at which the gentlemen were very angry, and ſaid, "Why was it not given to Mootyram, or ſent more privately?"

In February 1765, all things being ſettled to the ſatisfaction of the ambaſſadors, Najim ul Dowla was proclaimed at Moorſhedabad, ſubah of the three provinces; at which time advice was received from England, of lord Clive's being actually on his paſſage to India, inveſted with extraordinary powers from the company.

On the reſignation of colonel Monro, and his return to Europe, Major Carnac reſumed the command. At the latter end of April 1765, the Engliſh army croſſed the Ganges; and on the 3d of May the Engliſh general engaged the enemy then encamped on its banks, over whom he obtained a ſignal and deciſive victory; in conſequence of which, Sujah ul Dowla, alarmed at his ſituation, and the recent treaty between the MOGUL and the Engliſh, of which his depoſition might be ſuppoſed the probable and ſpeedy conſequence, ſent a letter to the Engliſh commander, ſignifying his intention to ſurrender at diſcretion, perſuaded that he would treat him in a manner befitting his own honor. The general received him with all poſſible marks of diſtinction, and, with equal generoſity and policy, recommended to the governor and council to uſe their ſucceſs with moderation, profeſſing it as his opinion, "that an equitable and honorable accommodation with the vizier, who was undoubtedly the ſecond man in the empire, would greatly raiſe the reputation of the Engliſh name;" adding, "that from the extreme regard in which he is held throughout the country, his alliance would prove a much better ſecurity to our frontiers than that of any other perſon who could be ſubſtituted in his room." Lord Clive was by this time arrived at Calcutta. On the firſt meeting of the committee of council, he declared to them, "that he little imagined, when he reſigned the government of Bengal five years ago, that he ſhould enter upon it again; but the late diſtracted ſtate of affairs in India had alarmed the proprietors of ſtock, and at one of their moſt numerous general courts he was unanimouſly deſired to reſume the government of Bengal. The ſucceſs of the forces," ſaid his lordſhip, "which I had the honor to command in 1757, completed a revolution in favour of Meer Jaffier; an event on which the exiſtence of the country at that time depended. My ſucceſſors, ſoon after my departure, thought proper to raiſe Coſſim Ally Khan to the Subahſhip; the conſequences of which, whatever were the cauſes, have been moſt unfortunate. What do we hear of, what do we ſee, but anarchy, confuſion, and, what is worſe, an almoſt general corruption? To eſtabliſh a permanent government, to ſecure the commercial intereſts and revenues of the company, to reform the military, to amend the civil departments; theſe will be the objects of our ſerious attention. By your aſſiſtance, I hope to ſee theſe important matters completely regulated before I reſign the government;" intimating at the ſame time his intention no longer to continue than his perſonal aid ſhould be thought neceſſary to the accompliſhment of theſe great and ſalutary purpoſes. But his lordſhip's plan of regulation and reform was more diſtinctly developed in a letter written at this period to Mr. Rous, then at the head of the direction in England. "The particulars of the late ſucceſſes, and now very flouriſhing ſtate of the company's affairs in Hindoſtan,

doſtan, were, he obſerves, already known. We have at laſt, ſays his lordſhip, arrived at that critical period which I have long foreſeen; I mean that period which renders it neceſſary for us to determine, whether we can or ſhall TAKE THE WHOLE TO OURSELVES. Sujah Dowla is expelled from his dominion—we are in poſſeſſion of it; and it is ſcarcely hyperbole to ſay, to-morrow the whole MOGUL EMPIRE will be in our power. A large army of Europeans will effectually preſerve us ſovereigns. You will, I am ſure, imagine with me, that, after the length we have run, the princes of Hindoſtan muſt conclude our views to be BOUNDLESS—they have ſeen ſuch inſtances of our ambition, that they cannot ſuppoſe us capable of moderation. The very nabobs, whom we might ſupport, would be watching to deſtroy us;—we muſt indeed become nabobs ourſelves in fact, if not in name. In ſhort, if RICHES and SECURITY are the objects of the company, this is the only method for ſecuring them."

The ſelect committee, in reply to the diſpatches of general Carnac, expreſs much approbation of the generoſity of ſentiment contained in them. They inform him, that lord Clive is veſted, in conjunction with him, with full powers to negotiate a treaty with the vizier on honorable terms. They affirm, that their great aim is to obtain a laſting and honorable peace, to revive their languiſhing commerce, to impreſs the natives with a ſenſe of our juſtice and moderation, and to reduce thoſe heavy military charges which have hitherto rendered the ceſſion of rich provinces uſeleſs to the company. "We muſt," ſay they, "APPEAR diſintereſted; and if you ſtipulate for any ſums to be paid, they ought to be on account of the company, whoſe intereſt muſt be primarily regarded."

Lord Clive ſoon afterwards joined the army, and in conference with Sujah Dowla it was agreed that fifty lacks of rupees, amounting to about 600,000l. ſhould be paid to the company by the vizier, as an indemnification for the charges incurred by the war. Coſſim Ally Khan having effected his eſcape to the country of the Rohillas, nothing now impeded the completion of the treaty with the vizier.

On the 11th of Auguſt (1765) lord Clive and general Carnac had an audience of the emperor Sha Allum, who delivered his *demands* to lord Clive in the Perſian language. In return the KING of KINGS was *requeſted* to grant to the company the *dewannee*, or collection of the revenues of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa. His imperial majeſty ſigned the *phirmaund*, and gave them that revenue for ever, reſerving only an annual tribute of twenty-ſix lacks of rupees to be paid into the royal treaſury; and the company agreed to aſſign a ſpecific ſum for the maintenance of the Subah and the expences of his houſehold. In conſequence of the imperial grant,—the ſeal of the governor and council bore henceforth the following inſcription, in accommodation to the lofty ſtyle of oriental oſtentation:— "The magnificent merchants of the Eaſt-India company, the Dewans of the magnificent provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, ſervants of the magnanimous emperor SHA ALLUM." On his return to Calcutta, lord Clive adviſed the court of directors of this extraordinary and amazing acceſſion of revenue. The Nabob's allowance, he informs them, is reduced to forty-two lacks of rupees, the tribute to the emperor is fixed at twenty-ſix, and their civil and military expences he eſtimates at ſixty lacks, which will, as he calculates, leave a clear annual reſidue of one hundred and twenty-two lacks, or one million ſix hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, to the company. The reſtoration of the vizier's dominions, his lordſhip ingenuouſly acknowledges, proceeded not from any generoſity of ſentiment, as ſome had miſtakenly imagined, but from the policy of not extending the company's territorial poſſeſſions. "Conſidering," ſays his lordſhip, "the exceſſes we have of late years manifeſted in our conduct, the princes of India will not readily imagine us capable of moderation; nor can we expect they will ever be attached to us by any other motive than FEAR. If you mean to maintain your preſent poſſeſſions and advantages, the command of the army and the receipt of the revenue muſt be kept in your own hands." SUCH was the nature of the reform and regulation which his lordſhip exerted his influence to eſtabliſh, and SUCH the GREAT AND SALUTARY PURPOSES he was ſolicitous by his authority and perſonal preſence in India to effect. But in order to ſhew how excellently ambition can moralize, he concludes with ſaying—"All is not ſafe. Danger ſtill ſubſiſts, from more formidable enemies within—luxury, corruption, avarice, rapacity—theſe muſt be extirpated, or they will deſtroy us: for we cannot expect the ſame cauſes which have ruined the greateſt kingdoms, ſhall have different effects on ſuch a ſtate as ours." NOR, as his lordſhip's ſuperior ſenſe and ſagacity might have ſuggeſted, againſt which he ſo juſtly and ſeverely inveighs, will ever ceaſe to threaten the ſubverſion of a ſtate, whilſt the "riches and ſecurity" of the GOVERNORS, and not the welfare and happineſs of the GOVERNED, are without heſitation admitted and avowed to be the grand end and object of GOVERNMENT.

It is now time to revert to the ſituation of affairs in England. The earl of Chatham, late Mr. Pitt, notwithſtanding the ideas which he had too flatteringly indulged on his re-elevation to the pinnacle of power, ſoon found himſelf in a predicament not leſs embarraſſing than unpleaſant. The loſs of his popularity was a ſource of perpetual chagrin. The fraternal breach which had taken place with lord Temple, who had been for many years his confidential friend and adviſer, excited in his breaſt the moſt ſenſible uneaſineſs; the proſpect of the powerful oppoſition forming againſt him, contraſted with that glorious period of his life when civil diſcord "bound in brazen chains" ſeemed expiring at his feet; and finally, perhaps the proofs already perceivable that he was far from poſſeſſing that abſolute authority in the cabinet which he had with hopes too ſanguine previouſly expected to exerciſe;—all theſe conſiderations conjoined depreſſed his genius, corroded his temper, and viſibly impaired his health. He perceived the neceſſity of ſtrengthening his intereſt previous to the meeting of parliament, by a *partial* coalition at leaſt with one or more of the political parties now combined againſt him, however diſunited amongſt themſelves. At the beginning of October the earl of Chatham and the duke of Bedford being then on a temporary viſit at Bath, an interview took place at the deſire of the former, who declared in explicit terms, "that he ſhould be happy to ſee the king's adminiſtration countenanced and ſupported by his grace's approbation and intereſt," and proceeded to ſtate the meaſures which he purpoſed to purſue:—1. To keep the peace inviolate, and to endeavor to prevent any infraction of it by foreign powers. 2. He would enter into no continental connections, nor make any ſubſidiary treaty with any European power. 3. He firmly reſolved to obſerve, in the expenditure of the civil government, a ſtrict and rigid œconomy." The duke replied, "that theſe were preciſely the meaſures for which he had ever contended, and which he would certainly ſupport, whether he and his friends were in or out of office." This interview, which terminated amicably, was underſtood to be only the prelude to another. Having ſo far ſucceeded, lord Chatham, on his return to London, no longer ſcrupled to riſque an open rupture with the Newcaſtle or Rockingham party—ever, as it but too evidently appears, the object of his ſecret averſion—by the diſmiſſion of lord Edgecombe, a nobleman diſtinguiſhed by his attachment to that connection, from his office of treaſurer of the houſehold, which was conferred on Mr. afterwards Sir John Shelley. Upon this the duke of Portland, lord Chamberlain, Sir Charles Saunders firſt lord of the admiralty, the lords Scarborough, Beſborough, Monſon, &c. reſigned their offices. Theſe reſignations lord Chatham purpoſed to ſupply by his intended coalition with the Bedford party; but on exhibiting his ultimate plan of promotions, new and formidable obſtacles aroſe in the way of its accompliſhment. Much larger conceſſions being exacted by the auxiliary party than they were thought entitled to expect, the negotiation with the duke of Bedford was abruptly broken off.

In a ſhort time Sir Edward Hawke was placed at the head of the admiralty; lord le Deſpencer, late Sir Francis Daſhwood, who under the adminiſtration of lord Bute occupied the office of chancellor of the exchequer, was appointed poſtmaſter; Mr. Charles Jenkinſon, lord Bute's private ſecretary and confidential agent, was made a lord of the admiralty; and Mr. Stuart Mackenzie, brother to lord Bute, reſtored to his office of privy ſeal for Scotland.

Lord Chatham was now univerſally conſidered as reconciled in a very extraordinary and alarming degree to the *ſyſtem* of the court. This, however, was an opinion altogether founded on miſapprehenſion; the great and efficient offices of government were ſtill entirely in the hands of the whigs, who at this period wanted only unanimity to carry their own plans of government into full and vigorous execution. After the firſt moments of reflection were paſſed, conſcious of the additional odium he had incurred by the late proceedings, lord Chatham again retired in all the gloom of diſcontent to Bath, where he fell into a paroxiſm of the gout, which ſeemed to threaten his exiſtence. His corporeal infirmities were increaſed by the conflict of paſſions which agitated his mind—torn at once with jealouſy, diſappointment, anger, and unavailing regret*.

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* In a letter written about this period by general Lee to the king of Poland, that extraordinary and eccentric genius thus expreſſes himſelf:—"I am apt to agree

During his abſence, the miniſters his aſſociates, ſuppoſing him for ever incapacitated for public buſineſs, were engaged in a variety of hoſtile political intrigues; Mr. Charles Townſhend, chancellor of the exchequer, a man of aſpiring views and deep deſigns, making, as it was affirmed, ſecret advances to the ex-miniſter, lord Rockingham, for the removal of the duke of Grafton, with whom he had been for ſome time on terms by no means the moſt cordial. Diſappointed, but not diſcouraged, at the rejection of his overtures, this verſatile and reſtleſs genius ſoon turned his attention to a different and oppoſite quarter, ſtill preſerving however the appearances of friendſhip to the duke.

During the courſe of the preceding ſummer, riots and tumults had in various parts of the kingdom taken place in conſequence of the high price of proviſions, and the magiſtrates were at length obliged to call in the military to the aid of the civil power. Many lives were loſt, and a ſpecial commiſſion was iſſued for the trial of the numerous rioters apprehended, who were nevertheleſs treated with every degree of lenity that the nature of the crime would permit. Few examples were made—the ſentence of the majority being mitigated to tranſportation, and many receiving a free pardon. The inceſſant rains which fell during the ſummer and harveſt months afforded however a very alarming proſpect of increaſing ſcarcity; and it was thought expedient in the autumn, when the extreme deficiency of the crop was fully aſcertained, to iſſue by virtue

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agree with the majority of the better ſort, that 'this once noble mind is quite overthrown.' Can it be reconciled to reaſon, that the ſame man who rendered his name ſo illuſtrious, ſo tremendous, ſhould ſplit upon ribbands and titles? By ſinking into a peerage, his popularity would vaniſh of courſe. I recollect your majeſty was of the ſame way of thinking, that there was nothing very monſtrous in his acceptance of a peerage, but that it argued a *ſenſeleſſneſs* of glory to forfeit the name of PITT for any title the king ſhould beſtow. He has fits of crying, ſtarting, and every effect of hyſterics—it is affirmed indeed, that ten years ago he was in the very ſame condition—that therefore a poſſibility remains of his recovering once more his nerves, and with them all his functions.'"

of the royal authority an embargo on the exportation of corn, though as yet below the fixed and legal ſtandard*.

When the parliament met at the uſual ſeaſon, it was found indiſpenſably requiſite to bring in a bill of indemnity, in order to prevent any proſecutions, in the courts of law, of the officers of the crown concerned in the execution of the act. But it was remarked, that, though this bill provided for the indemnity of the executors of the proclamation, it made no mention of the ADVISERS. The amendment propoſed in conſequence of this omiſſion occaſioned ſome warm altercations. The lords Chatham and Camden, in their too eager vindication of the late exertion of prerogative, maintained "that no indemnity was wanting for thoſe who had adviſed the crown to adopt this wiſe and neceſſary meaſure." Citing the words of LOCKE, they aſſerted, "that it was ridiculous

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* A ſucceſſion of wet and unfavorable ſeaſons may ſufficiently account for the extraordinary ſcarcity which prevailed at this particular period; but the grand and intereſting problem yet remains to be ſolved: WHEREFORE is it, that the means of ſubſiſtence have been for thirty years paſt leſs eaſily attainable by the bulk of the people than at any former æra?—that while on the one hand our ears are ſoothed and delighted with thoſe annual *parliamentary proluſions*, in which the proſperity of the nation is deſcribed in the moſt brilliant and glowing colours of eloquence, on the other our eyes are grieved and ſhocked at the diſplay of wretchedneſs and miſery which the habitations of the poor every where exhibit? Whence is it that the poors' rates are ſo alarmingly increaſed, that the workhouſes of the kingdom are crowded, and the villages deſerted?——that the laborer is bereft of the comforts which once made his cottage the abode of contentment; his family pining under the accumulated evils of cold, nakedneſs, and hunger? That this is an ideal picture, thoſe who move in the gay and ſplendid circles of faſhion would no doubt willingly affect to believe, but the evidence of facts is too ſtrong to be reſiſted or weakened by a pompous parade of words; and, where ſuch a ſtate of things exiſts, to talk of the proſperity of the country is a groſs abuſe of language. Effects ſo fatal muſt no doubt originate in ſomething radically wrong in the general ſyſtem. Two cauſes obviouſly preſent themſelves as jointly and powerfully co-operating to their production: 1. The enormous increaſe of the national debt, which is in fact only a taxation of the poor houſeholder for the benefit of the rich ſtockholder; and, 2. The vaſt and prodigious fortunes amaſſed by individuals, particularly by the oppreſſors and plunderers of the Eaſt, which have contributed more than is eaſily conceivable to the rapid and aſtoniſhing increaſe of luxury, i. e. of the conſumption of ſuperfluities, which has an immediate and irreſiſtible tendency to raiſe the price of the neceſſaries of life——while by the exceſſive influx of wealth the value of money is perpetually decreaſing. Thus the blood WE have ſo profuſely ſhed in our ſucceſſive wars, the treaſures WE have laviſhed, and the treaſures WE have extorted, all combine to induce a ſtate of political debility, languor, and decay, in which it may be truly affirmed "that the whole head is ſick, and the whole heart is faint." And as there is no proſpect of a change of ſyſtem, it muſt neceſſarily terminate in a cataſtrophe, which will be the more dreadful in proportion as it is procraſtinated by artificial and temporary expedients.

to ſuppoſe any ſtate without the power of providing for the public ſafety in great emergencies." This power muſt in all ſocieties be lodged ſomewhere, and in ours it is lodged in the king. This doctrine their lordſhips concurred in affirming to be by no means ſubverſive of the ſecurity of the conſtitution, or contrary to the ſpirit of liberty, as it can only be reduced to practice on occaſions of *extreme neceſſity*, when the parliament does not ſit, and cannot be conveniently aſſembled. At any rate the evil cannot be very formidable, ſince at worſt, ſaid lord Camden in the unguarded warmth of debate, IT IS BUT A FORTY DAYS TYRANNY; and there ſeems to be but little foundation for indemnifying thoſe who have neglected the letter in order the better to preſerve the ſpirit of the law.

In reply to theſe reaſonings it was urged with great force by lord Mansfield, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the debate, "that the law of England knew of no power of ſuſpenſion in the prerogative—that if the plea of neceſſity is once admitted, and the crown allowed to be the ſole judge of that neceſſity, the power of the crown would be unlimited; for there is no caſe to which it might not be made to extend, and diſcretion would quickly degenerate into deſpotiſm. For this reaſon the wiſdom of the legiſlature has deprived the crown of all diſcretionary power over poſitive laws. Though parliaments are not immortal, their acts never ſleep; they are not to be evaded by flying into a ſanctuary—no, not even that of neceſſity. The LAW is above the king, and he as well as the ſubject is as much bound by it during the receſs as during the ſeſſion of parliament; becauſe no point of time or emergent circumſtance can alter the conſtitution, or create a right not antecedently inherent. Theſe only draw forth into action the power which before exiſted, but was quieſcent. If the crown has a legal right to ſuſpend or violate one law, it muſt have the ſame right to violate another, and another, till the whole ſyſtem of our juriſprudence is overturned. A juſt regard to the ſafety of the ſovereign, and to the LIBERTY of the SUBJECT, render it neceſſary for us to ſhut up every avenue to tyranny, that, as it has hitherto been, ſo it may continue to be, the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of our kings, that their authority is the authority of the laws, and that they reign over freemen, and not over ſlaves*." Impreſſed by theſe conſiderations, the houſe paſſed the bill with the amendment; and lord Mansfield muſt be allowed *for once* the honor to have obtained the advantage over lord Chatham on a conſtitutional queſtion, and this merely in the abſtract, for that the meaſure was practically right no one pretended to diſpute; but at this criſis the enemies of lord Chatham were eager to repreſent him as renouncing thoſe principles to which he owed his fortune and his fame.

Affairs of far greater importance occupied the attention of parliament in a ſubſequent part of the ſeſſion. Though in actual circumſtances nothing could be more wiſe and ſeaſonable than the repeal of the ſtamp act by the late miniſters, it is not to be imagined that this was a meaſure attended with no political inconvenience; far from it;—but in the dilemma to which they were unfortunately reduced, they adopted that line of conduct which juſtice and policy marked out, and which appeared incomparably the leaſt of the two difficulties. By an egregious want of prudence and penetration, the government of Great Britain had attempted to carry into effect an odious and arbitrary meaſure, which upon trial it was found impoſſible, without involving the whole empire in ſcenes of bloodſhed and confuſion, to enforce. But as political power exiſts only by opinion, this project, however ruinous and abſurd, could not be relinquiſhed without expo-

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* General Lee, in a letter written December 1766, to his correſpondent the prince de * * *, ſays, "Lord Mansfield lately drew upon him the laugh of the houſe of lords, by making uſe of the term 'liberty of the ſubject,' and expreſſing great regard for it—Conway is ſtill ſecretary of ſtate, and much regarded as a man of ability and integrity——Lord Shelburne, the other ſecretary, has ſurpaſſed the opinion of the world; he ſpeaks well, and is very diſtinct in office——The duke of Grafton is an abſolute orator, and has a fair character——An Iriſhman, one Mr. Burke, is ſprung up in the houſe of commons, who has aſtoniſhed every body with the power of his eloquence, and comprehenſive knowledge in all our exterior and internal politics.

ſing the legiſlative authority of Great Britain to the riſque of at leaſt a temporary degradation and diminution. By their ſucceſs in this firſt inſtance of oppoſition and reſiſtance, the Americans would be encouraged and incited—ſuch is the nature of man—to diſpute the authority of the mother country when it happened to be in other inſtances exerted in a mode not agreeable to them, however neceſſary to maintain the juſt and conſtitutional ſubordination of the colonies. This was remarkably exemplified in the conduct of the aſſembly of the province of New York, who came to a reſolution, that they would not regard the proviſions of an act paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion, by which they were required to ſupply the troops ſtationed in the province with neceſſaries in quarters.

When this inſtance of diſobedience and contumacy was laid before parliament, very rigorous meaſures of vengeance were urged by thoſe whoſe violent counſels had already been productive of ſo much miſchief. But the preſent miniſters, purpoſely avoiding all harſh and poſitive penalties, adopted a meaſure at once forcible and dignified, by enacting a law prohibiting the governor, council, and aſſembly of New York to paſs any act till they had in every reſpect complied with the requiſition of parliament. This in a ſhort time produced the deſired effect, and it afforded a demonſtrative evidence, that the real and practical authority of Great Britain, wiſely and temperately exerted, was fully equal to the purpoſe of maintaining that relation of ſuperiority and dependence which indiſputably ought to ſubſiſt between the head and the members of a great and widely-extended empire.

Happy would it have been for the world, had the preſent miniſters diſcovered in all other parts of their conduct the ſame prudence and policy. But through ſome unaccountable fatality, or more probably from the ſecret operations of that inviſible and malignant influence which ſeemed perpetually to ſhed its poiſonous and deadly dews over the political atmoſphere,

atmoſphere*, the project was revived, incredible as it may ſeem, of drawing a revenue from America, in a mode not indeed in all reſpects analogous to that which had been ſo recently abandoned, but which in her preſent irritable ſtate of mind equally ſerved to rekindle thoſe alarms and jealouſies which might reaſonably be ſuppoſed rather allayed than extinguiſhed. Mr. Charles Townſhend, chancellor of the exchequer, in one of his vain and capricious moods (if his apparent levity of conduct is not rather to be attributed to an higher and leſs fortuitous ſource) boaſted in the houſe of commons, "that he knew how to draw a revenue from the colonies without giving them offence." Mr. Grenville inſtantly and eagerly urged this miniſter, yet in the noviciate of his office, to pledge himſelf to the execution of this fine project; which he heſitated not in the moſt deciſive manner to do—General Conway, ſecretary of ſtate, liſtening with ſilent aſtoniſhment. When this engagement came under ſubſequent diſcuſſion in the cabinet, it was warmly ſupported by a certain deſcription of its members, and reluctantly aſſented to by others, who dreaded a fatal diviſion in the adminiſtration ſhould they obſtinately refuſe their acquieſcence. Unfortunately Lord Chatham was not at this time capable of attending the cabinet councils, nor was he at all conſulted in his preſent ſtate of health by the miniſters on this or any other buſineſs. From this period, indeed, that nobleman perceived himſelf, or from his exceſs of jealouſy fancied himſelf, become a mere cypher in the adminiſtration. His opinions, even after his partial reſtoration to a capacity for buſineſs, were according to the general report and belief overruled or diſregarded; his perſon treated with rudeneſs and neglect; and having loſt the confidence of the people, he now became the object of the contempt of the court.

In a remarkable debate which took place in the houſe of lords at a ſubſequent period†, lord Chatham expreſſed without

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* "——————talis ſeſe halitus atris
Faucibus effundens ſupra ad convexa ferebat." VIRGIL.

† March 2, 1770.

out reſerve the ſenſations he had experienced in the ſituation he then occupied. He ſpake in indignant terms of "the ſecret influence of an inviſible power—of a *favorite*, whoſe pernicious counſels had occaſioned all the preſent unhappineſs in the nation—who had ruined every plan for the public good, and betrayed every man who had taken a reſponſible office. He ſaid that there was no ſafety, no ſecurity, againſt his power and malignity—that he himſelf had been duped, he confeſſed with ſorrow—that he had been duped when he leaſt ſuſpected treachery—at the time when the proſpect was fair, and the appearances of confidence were ſtrong—when he had with great pains, attention, and deliberation, formed ſchemes highly intereſting, and of the utmoſt importance to this country. Theſe ſchemes had been propoſed and approved in council, and aſſented to by the king; but on his return from a ſhort, and in his ſtate of health a neceſſary abſence at Bath, he found his plans all vaniſhed into air—'into thin air!' In the *cloſet* he ſaid he had invariably found every thing gracious and amiable—he had received the moſt condeſcending PROMISES OF SUPPORT. I own, ſaid this illuſtrious ſtateſman, I was credulous, I was duped, I was deceived. I ſoon found there was no *original adminiſtration* to be ſuffered in this country. A long train of inſidious practices at length unwillingly convinced me that there is ſomething *behind* the throne GREATER than the THRONE ITSELF." On another occaſion he affirmed, "that the late good old king poſſeſſed the feelings of humanity—and amongſt many other princely virtues, was endowed with juſtice, truth, and SINCERITY, in an eminent degree. He had ſomething about him by which it was poſſible for you to know whether he liked you or diſliked you."

Matters being in this ſtate, a bill was in the courſe of the preſent ſeſſion introduced and paſſed, with the appearance, it muſt be confeſſed, of general approbation, for the impoſition of certain duties on glaſs, tea, paper, and painters' colors, imported from Great Britain into the colonies; for though by the repeal of the ſtamp act the exerciſe of the right of internal taxation was allowed to be virtually relinquiſhed, the claim of external taxation was affirmed ſtill to remain in full force. The Americans by this act were reduced to a moſt grievous and vexatious political embarraſſment. It had been ever uniformly acknowledged that Great Britain poſſeſſed the right of commercial regulation and control—it could not be denied that port duties had been at former periods impoſed for the purpoſe of commercial regulation, particularly by the act paſſed in the ſixth year of the reign of the late king, on the importation of foreign rums, ſugars, and melaſſes, from the Weſt Indies. It could not be pretended with conſiſtency and plauſibility that the ſame power did not now inhere in the Britiſh parliament, but it was at the ſame time impoſſible not to diſcern that this power was in the preſent inſtance exerciſed with a very different intention, and for the accompliſhment of a very different object; and that by a ſpecies of artifice unworthy of a great nation, an attempt was now made to inveigle them into the payment of that revenue which could not be extorted by means more direct and unequivocal. When the intelligence of this new plan of *ſtate policy* reached America, a ſudden and angry gloom inſtantly and univerſally took place of the hilarity and good humour which had predominated ſince the ſuppoſed relinquiſhment of the plan of American taxation; and the intrigues of courts being to the Americans happily unknown myſteries, it was to them inconceivable how ſuch men as thoſe who compoſed the preſent adminiſtration could now act in a manner ſo diametrically oppoſite to their former profeſſions. Mercantile combinations immediately became general, not to import thoſe articles on which the new duties were laid—the trivial amount of which did not diminiſh the odium attending them—the Americans comparing theſe duties to an entering wedge, deſigned to make way for others which would be greater and heavier.

The laſt buſineſs of national importance which occupied the attention of parliament during this long and intereſting ſeſſion, related to the affairs of the Eaſt India company. The prodigious acquiſitions recently made by the company in the Eaſt, and the princely fortunes accumulated by thoſe who occupied the higher departments in its ſervice, ſtrongly attracted the attention, as may eaſily be ſuppoſed, both of the proprietary and the parliament.

At a general court held at the India houſe, it was affirmed by many of the proprietors to be highly reaſonable, that a larger dividend ſhould be declared by the directors, and that the whole body ſhould participate in the advantages of their late ſucceſſes; inſiſting, that ſo low a dividend as ſix per cent. agreed but ill with the preſent flouriſhing ſtate of the company's finances. It was plauſibly urged, that the Dutch Eaſt India company divided twenty per cent. upon its capital, though their poſſeſſions and revenues were in no degree equal to thoſe of the Engliſh. The directors, who, by the ſuperior ſagacity of their conduct, have frequently expoſed the dangerous fallacy of a confident reliance on the collective wiſdom of a popular aſſembly, combined as it muſt neceſſarily be with their collective ignorance and folly, replied with good ſenſe and prudence, "that although great advantages had certainly been gained, it was not leſs true, that vaſt expences had been incurred by the unexampled extent and duration of their military operations. The profits of the company, they ſaid, were comparatively remote and precarious; their debts urgent and certain. Juſtice and good policy, therefore, concurred in recommending the previous diſcharge of incumbrances ere they thought of appropriating the profits. Recall, ſaid they, the tranſactions of the South Sea year, and conſider the pernicious effects of the fraudulent arts then uſed for raiſing the value of that ſtock. Will not this premature attempt be attended with ſimilar conſequences? A conſiderable augmentation of dividend will raiſe the price of our fund to an extraordinary height, at which it cannot poſſibly be ſupported. Thus freſh fuel will be added to the ardor for gaming, a wider field will be opened for ſtock-jobbing, and all the myſterious iniquities of Change-Alley. By your precipitance you will create a new South Sea bubble, which will ultimately burſt upon your own heads."

The proprietary, far from being ſatisfied with theſe reaſonings, greatly reſented what they ſtyled "the invidious mention of the South Sea bubble," and reproached the directors with an intention to monopoliſe the riches of the company, and, by their futile and abſurd cavils, prevent all increaſe of dividend to ſwell their own enormous heaps. A dividend of twelve and a half per cent. was accordingly declared; when the parliament, in conſequence of an application from the company for the renewal of their charter, entered into a ſerious inveſtigation of the ſtate of the company's affairs. It was without heſitation aſſerted, that a commercial company could not legally acquire territorial rights; and that the revenues annexed to thoſe rights appertained ſolely to the crown. The company, dreading the conſequences of a competition ſo formidable, voluntarily offered an annual ſum of 400,000l. to the government, in lieu of all other claims; and a temporary agreement for two years only was concluded upon theſe terms, the queſtion of right remaining undecided. A bill, which the urgency of the caſe only could warrant, was at the ſame time brought into the houſe, RESCINDING, by an high exertion of legiſlative authority, the late reſolution of the general court, and confining the dividends of the company to ten per cent. during the continuance of the agreement made with the government, which paſſed with much oppoſition; the ſecretary of ſtate and the chancellor of the exchequer, on this occaſion, to the aſtoniſhment of the public, voting in the minority. This important bill originated with, and was ſupported by the powerful patronage of the noble duke at the head of the treaſury, who clearly diſcerned the neceſſity of adopting timely and deciſive meaſures of prevention, in oppoſition to the daring and nefarious deſigns of thoſe perſons, who hoped, by declaring an enormous dividend, and advancing the transfer price of the ſtock to a proportionate height, to take the ſame advantage of the public deluſion, as their predeceſſors in the ever memorable year 1720. General Conway, from motives free from any taint of ſuſpicion, oppoſed the bill in queſtion, under the too ſcrupulous apprehenſion of its eſtabliſhing an arbitrary precedent. But Mr. Townſhend, whoſe character with far more difficulty repelled the ſhafts of calumny, did not eſcape the ſevereſt animadverſion. The oppoſition to this bill in the houſe of lords was truly formidable. The Rockingham and Grenville parties united in the reprobation of it. The diviſions in the diffent ſtages were uncommonly cloſe; and the miniſter, who defended the meaſure in perſon with undaunted reſolution and great ability, was able on two ſucceſſive trials to command a majority of three voices only—more than 120 Peers being preſent. At length it paſſed on a diviſion of 59 to 44 voices. A proteſt, drawn with ſingular acuteneſs and energy, and conſiſting of no leſs than ſixteen ſpecific articles of diſſent, was ſigned by nineteen peers againſt this bill; lord Rockingham and lord Temple being of the number. The moſt remarkable clauſe of this proteſt is that which refers to a propoſal made by the company, of ſubmitting to a reſtriction of dividend at the rate of twelve and a half per cent.; and extending that reſtriction during the temporary agreement; "which," ſay their lordſhips, "would have ſecured every good end propoſed by this bill, and have obviated all the miſchiefs which they deprecate, as ſuch reſtriction, with the company's conſent, would have been liable to no objections of injuſtice or violence." Whether the end propoſed might not have been accompliſhed in a milder and more conciliatory mode, may perhaps admit of doubt; but, at this diſtance of time, there can ſcarcely exiſt a difference of opinion as to the eſſential rectitude and wiſdom of the meaſure itſelf.

The ideas of lord Chatham, who ſtill maintained an intimate and confidential intercourſe with the duke of Grafton, went to an abſolute and unqualified denial of the legal and conſtitutional right of the company to the territorial revenue, and the political juriſdiction annexed to it, as utterly incompatible with their commercial capacity, and totally foreign to the nature of the privileges veſted in them by charter. Unfortunately, by a too timid and wavering policy, the natural reſult of the miniſterial jealouſies and animoſities too evidently ſubſiſting, the company was left in the poſſeſſion of powers, which they in the ſequel exerciſed extremely to their own detriment, and the infinite diſtreſs and oppreſſion of the nations and provinces ſubjected to their dominion.

If it was not without labor and difficulty that the miniſter was able to carry the reſcinding bill into a law, in another great and favorite meaſure he was abſolutely and moſt unexpectedly defeated. Since the termination of the war, the land-tax had been wiſely continued at four ſhillings in the pound; and the duke of Grafton was anxiouſly ſolicitous that no reduction ſhould at this time take place, as it would materially obſtruct the grand arrangements formed for the liquidation of the public debt. But when the uſual land-tax bill was brought forward by the chancellor of the exchequer, it was vehemently oppoſed by the country gentlemen, who inſiſted upon its being reduced to three ſhillings in the pound, according to the invariable practice of former adminiſtrations in time of peace. The original motion was very faintly ſupported by the chancellor of the exchequer, whoſe conduct wore upon this, as on many other occaſions, the appearance of unaccountable negligence, or the moſt inſidious duplicity: and the amendment propoſed was carried in oppoſition to the court by a very deciſive majority. Many perſons augured from hence the ſpeedy and inevitable downfall of the preſent miniſtry; but the oppoſition of the country gentlemen, in this inſtance, being prompted ſolely by motives of private intereſt, did not extend to the general ſyſtem of adminiſtration, to which unanimity alone was wanting to give every neceſſary degree of ſtrength and ſtability. But the illneſs of lord Chatham, and his conſequent utter incapacity for buſineſs, afforded unfortunately the moſt inviting and unlimited ſcope for political intrigue. and all the arts of courtly diſſimulation.

The ſeſſion did not terminate till late in the ſummer (July 2d, 1767), when the want of cordiality amongſt the miniſters became more publicly apparent. Soon after the prorogation, the king wrote with his own hand a letter to the earl of Chatham, acquainting him with his intention to make certain alterations in the adminiſtration, and deſiring his lordſhip's aſſiſtance and advice. But lord Chatham ſignified to his majeſty, that ſuch was his ſtate of health as to render him incapable of affording the leaſt aid in ſettling any future arrangement;—but acknowledging the neceſſity of ſtrengthening the hands of government, by a coalition either with the Rockingham or Grenville party. A change of miniſtry being now confidently expected, the duke of Newcaſtle, long experienced in the arts of political intrigue, exerted his utmoſt efforts to unite the houſes of Ruſſel and Wentworth, conſcious that a firm and cordial coaleſcence could alone render their oppoſition formidable, or their adminiſtration permanent. This, however, was extremely difficult to effect, not merely on account of the reluctance of each party to act in a ſubordinate capacity, but from the real difference of opinion that ſubſiſted relative to the affairs of America. At length various mutual ſacrifices being made to facilitate the formation of a new adminiſtration on a comprehenſive baſis, at a meeting of the leaders of the different political parties convened at Newcaſtle Houſe, July 20, lord Rockingham was, by univerſal conſent, fixed upon as the moſt proper perſon to preſide at the board of treaſury. The Marquis then propoſed general Conway for ſecretary of ſtate and miniſter of the houſe of commons, to which the duke of Bedford poſitively objecting, the conference was diſſolved; and at a ſubſequent meeting, the marquis perſiſting in this nomination, all ideas of a union vaniſhed, it being fully underſtood that the two parties would not recede in any degree from their oppoſite ſyſtems reſpecting America: and the miniſters actually in office finding numerous and unexpected obſtacles to a coalition, one party requiring too great a ſacrifice of *power*, and the other of *profit*, and perceiving no proſpect whatever of a general comprehenſion, determined to maintain their ground in defiance of all oppoſition.

Lord Chatham, who had exhibited ſome flattering ſymptoms of recovery, relapſing into his former ſtate of illneſs and imbecility, Mr. Charles Townſhend renewed his intrigues with redoubled aſſiduity; and, highly reſenting that his name was wholly omitted in the late projected arrangements, he reſolved to devote himſelf entirely to the court; by whom his advances were ſo favorably or rather eagerly received, that the ultimate conſequences of his plotting and perverſe politics might have proved very perplexing and pernicious, had not his death prematurely and unexpectedly intervened in the month of September 1767[*]. The term of this miniſter's public life was too ſhort, and his ſituation too ſubordinate, to allow that full and free ſcope of action which is neceſſary to the perfect developement of a character. From what appears, his ambition, increaſing with his increaſe of honors, was much better ſuſtained by political ability, deſtitute as that ability was of a clear and correct judgment, than his ability by political rectitude. He was ſucceeded in his office of chancellor of the exchequer by Frederick lord North, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Guildford—a man as yet but little known to the public, but who ſoon roſe to great eminence in the ſtate. Although his notions of government evidently appeared of the high and tory caſt, his temper was mild, equable, and pleaſant. His abilities, though by no means of the firſt claſs, were far removed from contempt; his knowledge of buſineſs was extenſive, his integrity unimpeached; and, though indolent and unenterpriſing by conſtitution, he was occaſionally capable of reſolute and perſevering exertion. It muſt however be remarked, that a certain indiſtinctneſs and confuſion of ideas unfortunately pervaded his general ſyſtem of thinking; and though he ſeemed habitually to aim at the thing which was right, and often made a conſiderable approach towards it; he almoſt invariably ſtopped ſhort of the true and genuine ſtandard of political propriety. With the reputation of meaning well, therefore, he acquired the imputation of indeciſion and inſtability—and the general tenor of his adminiſtration muſt certainly be allowed to exhibit very few indications of energy, wiſdom, or force of penetration. But the character of this nobleman will be beſt appreciated by poſterity, in contemplating that faithful portraiture of his actions and conduct, which it is the province of hiſtory to delineate.—Mr. Thomas Townſhend ſucceeded lord North as paymaſter of the forces; Mr. Jenkinſon, Mr. Townſhend, as a lord of the treaſury. Lord Chatham, who had retired in ſullen ſilence, oppreſſed with illneſs and diſcontent, to his ſeat in Somerſetſhire, was no longer conſulted, from cauſes which require no additional explanation, either as to the arrangements actually made, or with reſpect to thoſe which were ſtill in view.

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[*] During the ſhort ſunſhine of court favor which Mr. Townſhend enjoyed, his lady was created a peereſs in her own right, by the title of baroneſs Greenwich. In alluſion to the extraordinary degree of influence and authority poſſeſſed by Mr. Townſhend at this period, when lord Chatham advanced rapidly to the cloſe of his miniſterial career, a celebrated orator, Mr. Burke, in a ſpeech ſome years afterwards made in the houſe of commons, thus expreſſes himſelf: —"Even then, Sir, before this ſplendid orb was entirely ſet, and while the weſtern horizon was in a blaze with his deſcending glory, on the oppoſite quarter of the heavens aroſe another luminary, and for his hour became lord of the aſcendant."

In the autumn of the preſent year 1767, died at Monaco in Italy, Edward duke of York, eldeſt brother to the king—and on this account only entitled to hiſtoric notice; his political character remaining as yet unknown, or known only from the unfavorable circumſtance of his giving his vote in Parliament againſt the repeal of the ſtamp act. He is uſually repreſented as a prince of pleaſing manners, and *comparative* vivacity of genius; but of ſuperficial attainments in knowledge, and very diſſolute in his morals. He was of the naval profeſſion, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the laſt war, when very young, in the attack on Cherbourg, under lord Howe, by his ſpirit and gallantry. His affability and courage, conjoined with the common advantages of youth, had acquired him no inconſiderable degree of popularity among the vulgar, and the eſteem of the wiſe he never ſought.

The earl of Northington, who had occupied, amid the ſucceſſive changes of five different adminiſtrations, the high offices of lord keeper, lord chancellor, and lord preſident, now broken in health, and weary of politics, at this juncture declaring his reſolution to reſign; new advances were made to the Bedford party, who, convinced that an accommodation with lord Rockingham was impracticable, determined at length to cloſe with the offers of the court. About the end of the year, earl Gower was nominated preſident of the council, in the room of the earl of Northington; lord Weymouth, ſecretary of ſtate, in the room of general Conway promoted in the military line; and lord Hillſborough was appointed to the new office of ſecretary of ſtate for the colonies, the creation of which was ſuppoſed with reaſon to indicate that the court was preparing to make them the objects of ſome extraordinary meaſures. The earl of Chatham, at preſent only the ſhadow of a mighty name, and ſequeſtered in the groves of Burton Pynſent, ceaſed to be mentioned by the public. After the lapſe of ſome months, perceiving, or believing that he perceived, the fixed and invincible predominance of that malignant influence, which from the acceſſion of the preſent king had invariably oppoſed, and more or leſs openly counteracted, the eſſential intereſts of the people, this nobleman

man determined upon a reſignation; and in the month of October 1768, not being able, or not deigning himſelf to appear at court, he ſent the privy ſeal to the king, by the hands of lord Camden: it was immediately delivered to the earl of Briſtol. Nearly at the ſame time, the earl of Shelburne, zealouſly attached to the earl of Chatham, *reſigned* the ſeals of the ſouthern department to the earl of Weymouth, who was ſucceeded by the earl of Rochford, late ambaſſador at Paris.

For ſome time previous to theſe changes, the feelings of the public had been in a peculiar manner intereſted, and their attention engaged, by the ſituation of Corſica, which neglected as it had been by one adminiſtration after another, now at length forced itſelf upon the notice of the government. This iſland, ſo celebrated in all ages for its ardent and invincible paſſion for liberty, was on the fall of the Roman Empire poſſeſſed by the Goths, and afterwards by the Saracens, from whom it is ſaid to have been wreſted by the famous Charles Martel. In a ſhort time, Corſica was reſigned by the kings of France as a free gift to the Holy See, which, from the inceſſant eruptions of the Saracenic powers, and the ungovernable ſpirit of the natives, finding the acquiſition very unprofitable, ceded the iſland to the republic of Piſa, then in the meridian of its greatneſs. But Genoa, gaining the ultimate aſcendancy over this rival nation, Corſica unfortunately, about the beginning of the 14th century, fell under her dominion, which from its very commencement was diſtinguiſhed by the moſt cruel and oppreſſive ſeverity.

In the wars between France and the houſe of Auſtria in the 16th century, Corſica made a ſpirited effort to recover her independency under the protection of Francis I. and his ſon and ſucceſſor Henry II. But the Genoeſe, being ſtrongly protected by the emperor Charles V. reduced under the auſpices of the renowned Andrew Doria, the iſland again under their yoke—Sampieri d'Ornano, the principal leader of the inſurgents, whom Thuanus ſtyles "*vir bello impiger et animo invictus,*" being baſely aſſaſſinated, A. D. 1567, by the treachery of Genoa. Deſpiſed, plundered, and oppreſſed, the Corſicans, after a long ſucceſſion of wretched and calamitous years, ſuddenly and unexpectedly roſe in arms in 1729, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the city of Corte, the capital of the iſland. But the republic applying for, and receiving, powerful ſuccors from the emperor Charles VI. an accommodation took place, and a treaty was concluded under the imperial guarantee. This being almoſt immediately broken by the Genoeſe, the Corſicans in a few years roſe anew; and, after a ſhort interval, elected the famous Theodore Baron Neuhoff for their ſovereign. The republic, no longer adhering to the political ſyſtem which connected her with the court of Vienna, now applied to France for aſſiſtance; and in the year 1739, a great force was ſent over under the count de Maillebois, by whoſe able, and at the ſame time inceſſant exertions of military ſkill and vigor, the iſland was once more totally vanquiſhed; the French auxiliaries leaving it, at the end of the year 1741, in a ſtate of the moſt perfect ſubmiſſion, exhibiting every where marks of the moſt frightful deſolation. A remarkable manifeſto was in the courſe of this horrid warfare publiſhed by the Genoeſe, in which they with apparent gravity ſay, "all the world knows the mildneſs and love with which the republic of Genoa governs her people, and above all, with what goodneſs and affection ſhe hath ever regarded thoſe of Corſica." This was farther ſignally diſplayed in the propoſal made by them, after the reduction of the iſland, to tranſport a great number of the *diſaffected* inhabitants to the diſtant colonies of France." "It ſhould ſeem by this," ſays a French writer, M. Jauſſin, "that they would have been ſatisfied with remaining ſovereigns of the rocks of Corſica, though they had no ſubjects." Scarcely, nevertheleſs, were the French departed, than the Corſicans were again in motion. As if actuated by a kind of inſpiration, not only men, but women and beardleſs boys, appeared in the field, and the whole nation burned with renewed and redoubled ardor to burſt the bonds of their ignominious thraldom. The war between England and France having now commenced, and Genoa taking a decided part with the latter, the Engliſh fleet in the Mediterranean gave frequent and efficacious ſuccors to the Corſican inſurgents, and St. Fiorenzo and Baſtia were in the year 1745 recovered, by their aſſiſtance, from the Genoeſe.

In the ſucceeding year, the Corſicans, now conducted by Count Rivarola, made propoſals to the earl of Briſtol, then ambaſſador from the court of London at Turin, to put themſelves entirely under the protection of Great Britain. This was, however, in terms of reſpect, declined by the Engliſh court: and on the concluſion of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the Corſicans were ungenerouſly and with true political apathy left to their fate. The conteſt was nevertheleſs continued with various ſucceſs. But the Corſicans having, A. D. 1755, elected as their chief, Paſcal Paoli, ſon of the former leader Giacinto, a man of diſtinguiſhed talents and virtues, a regular government on a free and democratic baſis was formed under his invigorating influence, and great advantages were gained over the Genoeſe in the ſubſequent conduct of the war. The hoary and venerable chief, Giacinto, had many years before retired to Naples, devoting himſelf to the education of his ſon. Embracing him at parting with patriotic and paternal exultation, he ſaid in broken accents, "My ſon, I may poſſibly never ſee you more; but in my mind I ſhall ever be preſent with you: your deſign is a great and noble one, and I doubt not but God will bleſs you in it. The little that remains to me of life, I will allot to your cauſe, in offering up my prayers and ſupplications to heaven for your protection and proſperity."

The proclamation iſſued by the king of England in 1762, under the inauſpicious adminiſtration of the earl of Bute, prohibiting his ſubjects from giving aid or aſſiſtance in any ſhape to the *Corſican rebels*—when England was in a ſituation to have eſtabliſhed, by a ſingle word, the liberty and independency of Corſica—was a terrible blow to theſe unfortunate iſlanders, and no doubt emboldened the court of Verſailles to conclude the ſubſequent treaty with Genoa, by which the progreſs of the Corſican general was arreſted in the midſt of his victories*. The aid of France was however granted in a mode conformable to the inſidious policy of that court, which, influenced by the aſpiring counſels of the Duc de Choiſeul, was ambitious to annex Corſica to its other dominions. The Genoeſe, perceiving no proſpect of a termination of the war, at length made a formal ceſſion of the iſland to the French king; and a very large body of forces was immediately ordered to embark, for the purpoſe of taking poſſeſſion. This could not fail to excite great jealouſy and alarm in the ſeveral courts of Europe moſt adverſe to France; and England and Holland, in particular, preſented, by their

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* On this occaſion, M. Rouſſeau indignantly wrote to his friend M. de Leyre, at Parma: "Il faut avouer que vos François ſont un peuple bien ſervile, bien vendu à la tyrannie, bien cruel, et bien acharné ſur les malheureux. S'ils ſavoient un homme libre à l'autre bout du monde, je crois qu'ils iroient pour le ſeul plaiſir de l'exterminer." On the other hand, Muratori, who publiſhed, from the king of France's library, an account of Corſica, written in the 16th century by Petrus Cyrnæus, a prieſt of the dioceſe of Aleria in that iſland, ſays, "Corſi, ferocium atque agreſtium hominum genus, et in ſeditionem facilè pronum, *Sereniſſimæ Genuenſium Reipublicæ*, converſis in rebellionem animis, a multo tempore negotium non leve faceſſunt—Qualem Petrus Cyrnæus gentem ſuam deſcribit, perpetuis contentionibus ac turbis fluctuantem, talem preſens quoque ætas agnoſcit, ac ſentit."—The diſpoſition of the *ſerene republic*, thus diſquieted by the turbulence of the nation ſhe ſo eagerly deſired to hold in her chains, is curiouſly depictured in an anecdote related by the Abbè Richard: "Le Royaume de Corſe," ſays this writer, "dont la République poſſede quelques places maritimes, lui coute prodigieuſement. Elle n'en retire aucun avantage réel, et elle a toujours à combattre un peuple indiſciplíné armé pour la liberté. Mais comme les nobles Genois ſe regardent tous comme ſolidairement ROIS DE CORSE, cette raiſon, qui eſt très forte ſur leur eſprit, les déterminera toujours à ne rien épargner pour conſerver au moins ce titre. C'eſt l'objet d'ambition qui les touche le plus. Rien n'eſt auſſi intéreſſant pour eux que les nouvelles de ce pais——ſurtout quand la balance paroit pancher du côté des rebelles. Une dame Genoiſe, fort inquiete de quelque ſuccès qui ſembloit annoncer une revolution totale en faveur des inſulaires, apprenant que les eſperances de la republique ſe retabliſſoient, dit dans un tranſporte de joie, DIEU merci! nous ſommes donc encore UN PEU REINES!"—Mr. Boſwell, in his intereſting account of Corſica publiſhed at this period, tells us, that general Paoli ſeemed deeply hurt at the treatment which Corſica had received from this country; and particularly mentioned to him the ſevere proclamation of 1762, in which the brave iſlanders were ſtyled the REBELS OF CORSICA. He ſaid with conſcious pride and feeling, "REBELS! I did not expect that from GREAT BRITAIN!"

reſpective ambaſſadors, ſtrong memorials to the court of Verſailles, expreſſive of their reſolution not to ſuffer this addition to the power of the French monarchy.

In conſequence of this ſpirited language, the duc de Choiſeul began to waver; and lord Rochford, in his diſpatches tranſmitted at this period to England, ſeemed not to harbor a doubt that France would finally concede in every point required of her. Moſt unfortunately the duc de Choiſeul received, at this critical moment, whether through treachery or groſs and unpardonable indiſcretion is not clearly aſcertainable, *ſatisfactory aſſurances* that the cabinet of England would not, in the preſent circumſtances, involve the nation in hoſtilities on account of this object. Suddenly the language of the French court became haughty and peremptory, and breathed an air of hoſtility and defiance. The Engliſh miniſters, aſtoniſhed at this alteration, and at a loſs how to decide, ſent, together with a conſiderable ſupply of arms and ammunition, a private meſſage to general Paoli, deſiring full information reſpecting the defence he was able to make, and how long he deemed that Corſica would be competent to reſiſt the force employed on this ſervice. General Paoli, inſtead of ingenuouſly acknowledging that the iſland muſt fall without immediate and powerful ſuccors from England, affirmed, that it could not be reduced in leſs than eighteen months; erroneouſly imagining perhaps, that to magnify the ſtrength and reſources of his country might be the moſt effectual means of inducing England to take a decided part in her favour. But while the Engliſh miniſters were heſitating and deliberating, the French arms made a rapid and alarming progreſs; and Paoli, diſcerning no ſymptoms of vigor in the Engliſh counſels, thought proper to make a ſeaſonable retreat, leaving his unfortunate country to its hard and unmerited fate. He was however well received by the court of London on his ſubſequent arrival in England, and an ample penſion was ſettled upon him in reward of his heroiſm, or, according to the malicious conſtruction of ſome, as the guarantee of his ſilence.

Parliament was convened early in the preſent year 1768; but nothing peculiarly intereſting or important occurred in the courſe of the ſeſſion, with the ſingle exception of a bill introduced and patroniſed by the oppoſition, under the denomination of the nullum tempus bill, for quieting the poſſeſſions of the ſubject, and ſecuring them from all obſolete and vexatious claims, with a particular view to the claims of the crown, againſt which it was held to be a maxim of law that no preſcription could be pleaded. This bill originated in an incident of an extraordinary nature. The Portland family had, in conſequence of a grant from king WILLIAM, poſſeſſed for ſeventy years the honor of Penrith and its appurtenances, ſituated in the county of Cumberland. The foreſt of Inglewood, and the manor and caſtle of Carliſle, being conſidered as parts of this grant, were quietly enjoyed by the family for ſeveral deſcents, under the ſame tenure, though not particularly ſpecified. Sir James Lowther, the ſon-in-law of lord Bute, being apprized of this omiſſion, made a clandeſtine application to the crown for a leaſe of the premiſes in queſtion; and the ſurveyor-general of the crown lands, though no lawyer, nor acting on the opinion of any lawyer, took upon him to decide, that theſe eſtates were ſtill veſted in the crown. Orders were therefore iſſued for a new grant to Sir James Lowther, in which the ſoccage of Carliſle was rated at 50l. per annum, and the foreſt of Inglewood at 14s. 4d.; though in reality of immenſe value, and commanding an extenſive election influence. When the board of treaſury met, after a long adjournment, the duke of Portland preſented to the lords a memorial, in which he prayed to be heard by their lordſhips in defence of his title. He was informed that no ſtep would be adopted to his prejudice, till an impartial inveſtigation had taken place. But whilſt the duke's agents and ſolicitors were employed in a laborious ſearch into antient and mouldered minuments, ſurveys, and court-rolls, his grace was informed, that the grant was actually completed; and, notwithſtanding the caveat entered into the court of exchequer, the chancellor lord North affixed the ſeal, in purſuance of a poſitive order from the lords of the treaſury.

When this moſt extraordinary buſineſs came under parliamentary diſcuſſion, the advocates of the court maintained, "that the premiſes in queſtion were no part of the honor of Penrith, and that the reſumption was therefore juſtifiable; that the family of Portland was ſufficiently paid for any ſervices which it might have rendered the nation; and after enjoying for the ſpace of ſeventy years an eſtate to which it had no right, it was ſaid they might now be contented to reſign it into the hands of the true owner." The oppoſition indignantly replied, "that the revival of the obſolete and dormant prerogative of reſumption, in the face of a long and uninterrupted preſcription, was in the higheſt degree deteſtable and alrrming;—that reſumptions had been practiſed only by the worſt or moſt arbitrary of our princes, and even by them with caution, as ſenſible of the general abhorrence which every act of that kind muſt excite. The maxim on which they were founded, was aſſerted to be the diſgrace of the prerogative, and the ſcandal of the law; and it could ſcarcely have been imagined, that the moſt enlightened ages would revive a practice which the darkeſt times had held in deteſtation. All the lands of the kingdom have been at different times in the hands of the ſovereign, and a large proportion of them, from the loſs of authentic deeds, may be liable to ſimilar claims; and thus the ſubject may be harraſſed and ruined by frivolous and vexatious ſuits, whenever he becomes obnoxious to an arbitrary miniſtry. To ground a proceeding of this nature upon the mere report of the ſurveyor-general of the crown, unſupported by any authority of law, was reprobated as a mockery and inſult, amounting to an evident abandonment of every principle of equity and juſtice. When our kings had little other fixed revenue than what aroſe from their demeſne lands, reſumptions might be more eaſily deemed pardonable; but when a vaſt permanent revenue was ſettled by parliament on the crown, the plea of neceſſity is wholly precluded; not to mention that the reſerved rent was too contemptible a conſideration to be ſuppoſed in the remoteſt degree to have influenced the reſumption. This act is evidently a continuation of that vile and pernicious ſyſtem, which had its origin at the commencement of the preſent reign; a ſyſtem, one of whoſe favorite objects it has been to affront and diſgrace thoſe families who were moſt ſtrenuous in effecting the revolution, and in ſecuring the throne to the houſe of Hanover." The miniſters of the crown contented themſelves with alleging, that farther time was neceſſary for the full inveſtigation of this bill, and a motion was made for the poſtponement of it till the enſuing ſeſſion. This was carried by a majority of 20 voices only; and, not to reſume the ſubject, it may be here remarked, that the nullum tempus bill paſſed ſubſequently into a law; and thus the oppreſſion of an individual, agreeably to the happy genius of the Engliſh conſtitution, became the means of extending and ſecuring the rights and liberties of the community at large.

When this great cauſe was ſubſequently argued before the barons of the exchequer, the late grant was judged invalid, as contrary to the ſtatute of queen Anne, which enacts, that, upon every grant, leaſe, or aſſurance from the crown, the reſerved rent be not leſs than one-third of the clear yearly value of ſuch lands, manors, or meſſuages as ſhall be contained in ſuch leaſe or grant; and to the infinite ſatisfaction of every impartial perſon, Sir James Lowther was finally nonſuited, after having thrown the whole county of Cumberland into the utmoſt confuſion—above four hundred ejectments being, as it is affirmed, ſerved by the agents of Sir James Lowther upon the ſubtenants and actual occupants of thoſe extenſive demeſnes in one day.

At this period, a bill of ſingular importance paſſed the parliament of Ireland, limiting the duration of parliaments in that kingdom to eight years; to which the ſanction of the crown was, after a long delay, reluctantly given. And a new and ſtriking proof was exhibited of that independent ſpirit, by the uncontrollable operation of which Ireland was viſibly haſtening to its final emancipation from the Engliſh yoke.

The Britiſh parliament having now nearly completed the full legal term of its exiſtence, was diſſolved, with many expreſſions of acknowledgment from the king for its faithful attention to the public ſervice, and its earneſt zeal for the preſervation of the conſtitution. Such had been the varying complexion of this aſſembly, under a rapid and unexampled ſucceſſion of Adminiſtrations, that it is difficult to determine, whether, on a review of their conduct, it is moſt deſerving the public cenſure or applauſe. Perhaps it might more properly become the ſubject of our enquiry, whether the perpetual viciſſitude and fluctuation of counſels, by which it was characterized, *juſt as the* INDEX *of the* TREASURY *pointed*, be not itſelf a proof of political obſequiouſneſs, wholly incompatible with that dignity of independence by which Britiſh parliaments were once diſtinguiſhed.

" After the expulſion of the Stuarts," ſays a learned and ingenious foreigner, l'Abbé Millot, " the royal prerogative was contracted; but the ſovereign was ſcarcely leſs powerful. Having places and honors at his diſpoſal, he could bias that multitude of ambitious or venal ſouls who worſhip fortune. A CONTAGIOUS CORRUPTION, produced by wealth and intrigue, infected that haughty people ſo jealous of their liberty:—the COURT filled the lower houſe of parliament with its partiſans, for the purpoſe of influencing their debates, and of drawing from thence enormous ſubſidies. There have been always in England, vigilant, jealous, incorruptible men, who have their country inceſſantly before their eyes, who ſtruggle againſt the torrent of FOREIGN INTERESTS, and who ſpeak like citizens, in the midſt of the moſt corrupt aſſembly. A government where ſuch men may freely ſpeak their thoughts, where they ſpeak them without fear and without evaſion, has in itſelf a grand principle of life and vigor. But ſince the crown has had a ſtanding army, ſince it has had intereſts which do not concern the nation, ſince it can depend on the votes of a long parliament; the balance of thoſe powers which form the conſtitution is become more difficult to ſupport. CORRUPTION, by DESTROYING PRINCIPLES, may one day occaſion more miſchief than the VIOLENCE of DESPOTISM."

The enſuing general election was ſignalized above all others, by the immenſe ſums expended in electioneering conteſts. The *current price of boroughs*—for ſuch is the corrupt ſtate of the national repreſentation in England, that this language is authorized by common uſe—was enormouſly raiſed by the rival-plunderers of the Eaſt and of the Weſt, who, by a new ſpecies of alchymy, had tranſmuted into Engliſh gold *the* BLOOD *of* AFRICA *and the* TEARS *of* HINDOSTAN. Many private fortunes were ruined, or materially impaired, by conteſts carried on with the utmoſt ſhameleſſneſs of political depravity *. The circumſtances attending the election for Middleſex alone, however, demand, from their ſuperior importance and connection with general politics, the ſpecific notice of hiſtory.

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* On a view of this debaſing and degrading ſcene, we might, on whatever portion of the land we caſt our eyes, truly and feelingly exclaim in the language of patriotiſm and poetry:

Corruption ranges with gigantic ſtride,
And ſcarce vouchſafes his ſhameleſs front to hide;
The ſpreading leproſy taints every part,
Infects each limb, and ſickens at the heart.
Simplicity, moſt dear of rural maids,
Weeping, reſigns her violated ſhades;
Stern Independence from his glebe retires,
And anxious Freedom eyes her drooping fires!
By foreign wealth are Britiſh morals chang'd,
And Afric's ſons and India's wrongs aveng'd.

EPIST. to MR. WILBERFORCE.

It is neceſſary to recall to our recollection, that Mr. Wilkes, by his contumacious contempt of the proceedings inſtituted againſt him in the courts at Weſtminſter, ſuffered a ſentence of outlawry to be paſſed upon him; and for ſeveral years preceding this period he had reſided in different parts of the continent. But at the eve of the preſent election he had the audacity to appear publicly at Guildhall, and offer himſelf as a candidate for the city of London.

On the firſt advancement of the Duke of Grafton to the premierſhip, Mr. Wilkes had written to that nobleman in a ſtrain ſufficiently reſpectful, and even flattering—" congratulating his country on that event, and entreating his grace to mediate his pardon from the king; declaring, that he had never in any moment of his life ſwerved from the duty and allegiance he owed his ſovereign, and profeſſing in every thing to ſubmit to his majeſty's clemency. 'Your grace's noble manner of thinking,' ſays he, 'and the obligations I have formerly received, which are ſtill freſh in my mind, will, I hope, give a full propriety to this addreſs; and I am ſure, a heart glowing with the ſacred zeal of liberty muſt have a favorable reception from the duke of Grafton." This application was unfortunately treated with neglect and diſdain; and Mr. Wilkes's hopes of pardon being extinguiſhed, he reſolved to make his enemies feel if poſſible the effects of his reſentment. At the preſent criſis, the conduct of the court appeared wholly unaccountable. There was plainly no juſt medium diſcoverable between the oppoſite determinations of rigor or lenity. If the former were adopted, by putting into immediate execution the ſentence of outlawry, his projects of revenge and ambition would have been eaſily and completely defeated. If, on the contrary, the wiſer and more generous plan of lenity were preferred, a full and free pardon ſhould have been granted; and with his perſecution his influence and popularity would of courſe ceaſe to exiſt. To halt between the two opinions, was an infallible proof of weakneſs and infirmity in the cabinet counſels.

It is remarkable, that although this *pſeudo-patriot* was received by the populace with loud acclamations, and a great majority of hands appeared in his favor, he was on the poll contemptuouſly rejected. Far from being diſpirited by this defeat, he immediately declared himſelf a candidate for Middleſex; and the electors for this county conſiſting chiefly of freeholders of the loweſt claſs, he was returned by a deciſive majority. Such was the exultation of the populace at this event, that they paraded the ſtreets of the metropolis, and compelled the inhabitants to illuminate their houſes, as if ſome ſignal victory had been gained; and the chief magiſtrate Harley was openly and groſsly inſulted by a violent aſſault upon the manſion houſe.

The miniſtry, who had remained unaccountably paſſive at his firſt appearance, now ſeemed to awaken from their lethargy. Mr. Wilkes, having with much diſcretion ſurrendered himſelf to the juriſdiction of the king's bench, obtained a reverſal of his outlawry: but the verdicts given againſt him on both trials were now affirmed by lord Mansfield, and he was in conſequence condemned to ſuffer two years impriſonment; to pay a fine of one thouſand pounds; and to find ſecurity for his good behaviour during the ſpace of ſeven years. The ſeverity of this ſentence was rendered more odious by the extraordinary and unjuſtifiable methods taken to procure his conviction, and by the arbitrary and unprecedented alteration of the records, by direction of the judge, on the very night preceding the trial.

The multitude, enraged at this oppreſſive procedure, reſcued by force Mr. Wilkes from the officers who were conducting him to priſon, and carried him in triumph through the city; but through his earneſt endeavors and entreaties they were prevailed on to abſtain from all further acts of outrage. At midnight, when the mob was diſperſed, Mr. Wilkes again ſurrendered himſelf to the cuſtody of the marſhal of the king's bench, in meritorious obedience to the laws of his country. Many perſons being accuſtomed to aſſemble before the gates of the priſon, it was judged expedient to ſtation a military guard in the vicinity for its ſecurity.

On the 10th of May 1768, the new parliament was convened, and vaſt multitudes were collected about the king's bench and the fields adjacent, under the idea of ſeeing Mr. Wilkes go to the houſe of common. Having waited a long time in vain, they began to grow inſolent and clamorous; and the juſtices of the peace, who attended for the purpoſe, thought it neceſſary, after enduring much outrage and perſonal injury, to read the riot act: on which the people, highly exaſperated, interrupted them with throwing ſhowers of ſtones and other miſſile weapons. The ſoldiers, irritated in their turn, and impatient of attack, were now ordered to fire, and more than twenty perſons were killed or wounded at the firſt diſcharge. Several of the military, purſuing a ſuppoſed offender, ſhot moſt unfortunately in his ſtead one Allen, a youth who had taken no part whatever in the affray, dead, in a hovel or cowhouſe belonging to his father, in the very act of imploring mercy. This incident awakened the pity, as the conduct of the magiſtrates, however juſtifiable in their circumſtances, excited the indignation of the public. It was ſaid with bold and injurious aſſeveration, that the juſtices cauſed the riot by reading the riot act; and the thanks returned in the king's name to the detachments employed in this odious ſervice, who were all drafted from *Scotch regiments*, heightened and inflamed to an incredible pitch the paſſions of the people.

After a very ſhort ſeſſion, and merely paſſing one or two bills *pro forma*, the parliament was prorogued till November,

ber, and the miniſters had full leiſure to conſider what ſpecific meaſures, after the multiplied errors of their predeceſſors, prudence and moderation, words of hateful ſound within the verge of a court, now dictated as the rule of their future conduct. During the receſs, and while the ſecret adviſers of the court were yet perhaps ſuſpended in doubt, a trivial event turuned the ſcale in favor of that plan of mean and miſchievous revenge which ſeemed moſt congenial to the genius and policy of the preſent reign. A letter from lord Weymouth, ſecretary of ſtate addreſſed to the chairman of the bench of juſtices for the county of Surry, and expreſſive of the higheſt approbation of the late proceedings of the magiſtrates, fell into the hands of Mr. Wilkes, who immediately publiſhed it with a preface ſufficiently daring and indignant. When the parliament met, lord Weymouth made a formal complaint of breach of privilege, and the houſe of commons with little heſitation reſolved this prefatory introduction to be "an inſolent, ſcandalous, and ſeditious libel." And it being alſo urged that Mr. Wilkes was ſentenced to a long impriſonment for former offences of a ſimilar nature, and incapable of attending his duty in parliament, it was moved by lord Barrington, ſecretary at War, that he be expelled the houſe. His lordſhip's motion was ſeconded by Mr. Rigby, paymaſter of the forces, a man who under a ſpecious veil of hilarity and urbanity concealed a diſpoſition ſervile and corrupt, combined with a profligate contempt of the obligations of morality and even the appearances of decorum. The motion was carried by a great majority, but not without ſevere animadverſion. It was intimated to be very extraordinary that ſuch zeal ſhould be diſplayed againſt the author of an obſcene and impious libel, by him whoſe life had been one continued ſcene of obſcenity and impiety. It was affirmed "that the libel with which Mr. Wilkes now ſtood charged, did not come properly under the cognizance of the houſe. If the privileges of the peers were violated, or their proceedings arraigned, they were competent to the vindication of their own honor. For the other libels he has been already expelled. Shall the houſe puniſh twice for the ſame offence? In order to ſatisfy the vengeance of the court, ſhall we act in direct oppoſition, not to the forms only, but to the very eſſence of the conſtitution? Shall we blend the executive and judicial powers with the legiſlative, and take upon ourſelves the odium of trying and puniſhing in a ſummary manner an offence cognizable by the laws in the ordinary courts of judicature? Will not this pretended zeal for the honor of religion, and the ſupport of good order and government, be clearly diſcerned to originate in a ſlaviſh complaiſance to the mandates of the court? Diſſimulation is a falſe garb, which fools put on, and think they wear the robe of wiſdom. In the proſecution of this deſign, if the houſe ſhould condeſcend to become the paſſive inſtruments of miniſterial oppreſſion, nothing can enſue but humiliation, contempt, and diſgrace."

It is notwithſtanding ſingular, that the apparently obvious and probable conſequence of this expulſion does not ſeem to have occurred either to the miniſters of the crown, or to the members in oppoſition. But whatever might have been previouſly expected, the fact is, that, a new writ being iſſued, Mr. Wilkes was a ſecond time returned with the greateſt unanimity. The houſe now began to perceive the dilemma in which it had with ſuch palpable indiſcretion involved itſelf. By proceeding in this buſineſs, they muſt incur the reſentment, perhaps the deteſtation, of the public; by receding, it were impoſſible to eſcape their contempt. Preferring what appeared to them the leaſt of theſe two evils, they reſolved, "that Mr. Wilkes, having been once expelled, was incapable of ſitting in the ſame parliament, and that the election was therefore void." The freeholders of Middleſex, equally determined with the houſe of commons, choſe him a third time their repreſentative, with the ſame unanimity. The election was again declared void by the commons;

and in order to terminate a conteſt in which the houſe appeared to ſo little advantage, colonel Luttrell, a member of that aſſembly, had the courage voluntarily to vacate his ſeat in parliament, with a view to offer himſelf as a candidate for Middleſex; being previouſly aſſured that he ſhould at all events, and whatever might be the diſparity of numbers upon the poll, be the ſitting member. At the fourth election Mr. Wilkes was again returned by the ſheriffs; the votes in his favor being 1143 to 296: but, on a petition from colonel Luttrell, he was, after a vehement debate continued to a very late hour (March 3, 1769), declared DULY ELECTED!

By this deciſion the nation was thrown into a paroxyſm of rage and conſternation, which the occaſion certainly could not juſtify, and which only ſerved to ſhew how a comparatively trivial queſtion may be magnified into artificial importance, by making it the object of political and perſonal contention. It could not be denied that the houſe of commons had ever exerciſed a judicial authority, which could in no other hands be ſo properly placed, in determining upon the validity of returns, and the qualifications of their own members. This authority might undoubtedly be abuſed or indiſcreetly exerciſed, but all power is in its own nature liable to abuſe; and if ſo vague an objection be admitted, the powers veſted in all political bodies, however conſtituted, muſt be annihilated, and the bands of civil ſociety are at once diſſolved. The power of expulſion for ſuch offences as appear to the houſe to render any of its members unworthy of the truſt repoſed in them, had been exerciſed in numerous inſtances from time immemorial; and though no caſe preciſely ſimilar to the preſent in all its circumſtances could be adduced, the houſe of commons now exiſting had certainly as valid a right *to make a precedent* in a new caſe within the limits of their own peculiar juriſdiction as any former houſe of commons, or as the courts ſitting in Weſtminſter Hall—And had the expulſion of Mr. Wilkes been itſelf a popular meaſure,

ſure, the ſubſequent ſteps taken by the houſe would no doubt have been deemed perfectly regular, as analogous to the ſpirit of former deciſions, conformable to the general powers of adjudication veſted in the houſe, and neceſſarily flowing from the original and eſtabliſhed parliamentary right of expulſion.

In the famous caſe of Sir Robert Walpole, expelled the houſe, A. D. 1711, for "breach of truſt and corruption," and *re-elected* for the borough of Lynn Regis, the houſe reſolved, that he was incapable of ſitting in that parliament, though they did not on that occaſion venture to declare Mr. Taylor, the candidate next upon the poll, duly elected. But in the caſe of ſerjeant Comyns, who, being returned for the borough of Malden in the year 1715, had refuſed to take the qualification oath, the houſe more conſiſtently determined that the votes given to Comyns were loſt, and that Mr. Tuffnell, next upon the poll, was duly elected. And in the caſe of Bedford, 1727, the houſe, in conformity to the former deciſion, declared Mr. Orlebar duly elected, though inferior by no leſs than two hundred and twenty-five votes on the face of the poll to Mr. Ongley, who was previouſly diſqualified by holding the office of commiſſioner of the cuſtoms. From theſe authorities combined, a complete precedent might therefore be formed; the firſt affirming that a member once expelled could not ſit in the ſame parliament; the two latter, that votes given to a diſqualified perſon were abſolutely, and to every elective purpoſe, null and void. But if no precedents could have been adduced, the reaſon of the thing would evidently have dictated to the houſe ſuch a deciſion as was eſſential to the dignity and conſiſtency of their own juriſdiction, and to the avoidance of an abſurdity ſo palpable and ridiculous, as would be the doctrine now for the firſt time promulgated, that parliament had a right to expel *in infinitum*, and the electors a right to re-elect *in infinitum*. It muſt nevertheleſs be acknowledged, that a diſcretionary power of expulſion is liable to be perverted to very bad purpoſes,

poſes; and therefore it was judged proper by an act paſſed in the courſe of the enſuing ſeſſion, to ſpecify the offences which ſhall in future render incapacitation the neceſſary reſult of expulſion: and thus, enſtead of encroaching on the rights of the people in matters of election, this obnoxious houſe of commons did in reality fix legal and definite boundaries to their own power.

To charge therefore, as many ſcrupled not to do, in conſequence of their determined conduct in this ill-fated conteſt, the miniſters of the crown with a premeditated deſign to *ſubvert the conſtitution* would be very unjuſt; though it may fairly be conſidered as diſplaying a moſt dangerous exceſs of complaiſance to the crown on the part of the commons, precipitately to involve themſelves in a quarrel with their conſtituents, in order to gratify the intemperate reſentment of the court againſt an obſcure and unprotected individual, and as a cogent proof of the alarming influence of the executive power over the legiſlative body. The worſt miniſters of the crown during the preſent reign cannot indeed be reaſonably ſuſpected of a deſign ſo extravagant as that which hath been ſometimes ſeriouſly aſcribed to them, of raiſing the prerogative above all control; but it is the characteriſtic of the preſent reign, that a wiſe government has been moſt unwiſely adminiſtered—that high and arbitrary principles have been revived and acted upon—that the ſpirit of toryiſm, i. e. the ſpirit of pride, of violence, and domination, has, with very ſhort intervals, prevailed; and that the mild, the moderate, the conciliatory maxims of genuine whiggiſm have been diſcountenanced and diſcarded*.

The

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* November 17, 1768, died at a very advanced age the duke of Newcaſtle, who for more than fifty years had occupied the greateſt offices in the ſtate. The famous quadruple alliance was ſigned by this nobleman at Whitehall, July 22, 1718. He might, in the laſt years of his life, with propriety adopt the words of the poet——

"I've been ſo long remember'd, I'm forgot."

His grace was ſucceeded in the chancellorſhip of the univerſity of Cambridge by the duke of Grafton. In the autumn of this year alſo died the moſt rev. Dr. Thomas

The houſe of commons proceeded, after the queſtion of the Middleſex election was thus determined, to the uſual buſineſs of the ſeſſion, and thirty-three thouſand men were voted for the ſea and land ſervice of the year 1769. The charter of the Eaſt-India company was prolonged for the farther term of five years, on conditions ſimilar to the laſt agreement; but the company were now allowed to increaſe their dividend to twelve and a half per cent. during this term, provided they did not in any one year raiſe it above one per cent. On the other hand, ſhould the dividend be reduced below the preſent ſtandard of ten per cent. the ſtipulated payment of 400,000l per annum to the public ſhould be proportionally diminiſhed; and if the dividend ſhould ſink to ſix per cent. the payment to the public ſhould wholly ceaſe.

A meſſage from the king was on the laſt day of February (1769) delivered to the houſe by the chancellor of the exchequer, acquainting them, that the arrears of the civil liſt amounted to the ſum of 513,000l. and deſiring the aſſiſtance of his *faithful commons* to diſcharge this heavy incumbrance. Such was the zeal and loyalty of the houſe, and ſuch their unlimited confidence in his majeſty's prudence and economy of expenditure, that on the 2d of March the ſum required was granted, without any formality of inveſtigation.

On

Thomas Secker, archbiſhop of Canterbury, which metropolitan ſee, after the death of Dr. Herring, had been filled for a very ſhort interval by Dr. Hutton, on whoſe deceaſe in 1758 this high dignity was conferred on Dr. Secker, then biſhop of Oxford; a prelate of a life rigidly virtuous, completely verſed in all branches of eccleſiaſtical learning, but of a capacity by no means elevated, and whoſe zeal was at leaſt as conſpicuous as his candor and judgment. His ardent deſire to eſtabliſh epiſcopacy in America is well known; and if no fears and jealouſies had been entertained that the new biſhops would have been inveſted with ſome ſort or degree of temporal juriſdiction, the plan would not have been oppoſed by the Americans, who declared, that they objected not to the introduction of biſhops, but they were determined not to admit of LORD BISHOPS. Biſhops on the primitive model, unconnected with the ſtate, have been ſince the revolution introduced into the different provinces, even of New England itſelf, without exciting the ſlighteſt alarm or apprehenſion. In the character of Secker, though in many reſpects excellent, we may look in vain for the benignity, the liberality, the generous and enlarged views of his predeceſſor archbiſhop Herring. Dr. Secker was ſucceeded by Dr. Frederic Cornwallis, biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry.

On the 9th of May, parliament was prorogued; his majeſty delivering upon the occaſion a ſpeech in which the loyalty and affection of his "faithful commons" were highly applauded—and a promiſe made, of confining for the future the expences of his civil government within ſuch bounds, not as the law had preſcribed, but as the HONOR of his CROWN would admit.

At this period a circular letter was written by the earl of Hillſborough, ſecretary of ſtate for America, to the different colonies, acquainting them, "that it was the intention of his majeſty's miniſters to propoſe, in the next ſeſſion of parliament, taking off the duties upon glaſs, paper, and colors, on conſideration of ſuch duties having been laid contrary to the true principles of commerce; and aſſuring them, that at no time had they entertained any deſign to propoſe to parliament to lay any farther taxes on America for the purpoſe of raiſing a revenue." Notwithſtanding the *ſalvo* of commercial principles, it was ſufficiently evident that this conceſſion was ſolely and wiſely made with a view to conciliate America in this criſis of diſaffection and diſcontent in England. But as the wiſdom of man is generally blended with a portion of folly, the duty on *tea* was purpoſely and invidiouſly left as a mark of the legiſlative ſupremacy of Britain, very contrary to the inclinations and earneſt endeavors of the miniſter, who, by cogent arguments, demonſtrated in council the impolicy of leaving that fatal germ of contention to expand into incurable animoſity. But though the duke of Grafton was on this occaſion powerfully ſupported by lord Camden, and various other names of the higheſt reſpectability, his grace's ſyſtem of moderation was moſt unfortunately overruled in the cabinet, in a favorite point of primary importance within his own department, by the operation of that ſecret and baleful influence which it might ſurely have been imagined that the evil genius of Britain alone could at this momentous conjuncture have awakened into action. And from this period the duke of Grafton entertained fixed and ſerious ideas of relinquiſhing his ſtation as ſoon as a ſucceſſor could be provided by his majeſty.

The ferment raiſed in the nation by the late deciſion of the houſe of commons ſeemed in the mean time daily to increaſe in violence. A very bold petition was preſented to the king by the freeholders of the county of Middleſex, in which they enlarged on the uniform tendency of the meaſures of the preſent reign to deſtroy that harmony which ought to ſubſiſt between the prince and the people; and they concluded a long catalogue of grievances and apprehenſions, by declaring, that the right of election had been wreſted from them by the unprecedented ſeating of a candidate who was never choſen by the county; who, even to become a candidate, was obliged *fraudulently* to vacate his ſeat in parliament. "Deign then," ſay they, "moſt gracious ſovereign, to liſten to the prayer of the moſt faithful of your ſubjects, and to baniſh from your royal favor, truſt, and confidence, for ever, thoſe evil counſellors who have endeavored to alienate your majeſty's affections from your moſt ſincere and dutiful ſubjects, and who have TRAITOROUSLY dared to depart from the ſpirit and letter of thoſe laws, which have ſecured the crown of theſe realms to the houſe of Brunſwic."

The city of London preſented a petition to the ſame purport. But the city of Weſtminſter, ſenſible, as they profeſſed, that deciſive meaſures are the beſt policy, petitioned expreſsly for an immediate diſſolution of parliament. The county of York, and fourteen other principal counties, with many opulent cities and towns, followed this example: but it is not to be imagined that they could flatter themſelves with any ſerious expectation of ſucceſs. A few counter addreſſes were, with great difficulty, procured by the court, and one in particular from a reſpectable, though in number, an inconſiderable proportion of merchants of London, who, in their proceſſion to St. James's, were groſsly inſulted by the populace. The tumult alarmingly increaſing as they approached the palace, the riot act was read at the palace-gate; and lord Talbot, lord Steward, attempting to interpoſe, had his ſtaff of office broken in his hand. Several perſons were after a daring reſiſtance taken into cuſtody by the military, but the indictments ſubſequently preferred againſt them at Weſtminſter Hall were all thrown out by the grand jury.

Amidſt the innumerable multitude of political publications, in which the conduct of the preſent adminiſtration was arraigned in the bittereſt terms of ſeverity, the national attention was particularly attracted by a ſeries of letters appearing under the ſignature of JUNIUS, and written in a ſtyle ſo maſterly as to be generally deemed, in point of compoſition, equal to any literary productions in the Engliſh language. They conſiſted, however, of little elſe than ſplendid declamation and poignant invective, and diſcovered a cool and deliberate malignity of diſpoſition, which, now the paſſions and follies of the day have vaniſhed, and given place to other paſſions and other follies, muſt excite diſguſt at leaſt proportionate to our admiration *. Of theſe celebrated letters, by far the moſt memorable is that addreſſed to the KING, in which the writer, with equal elegance and energy of diction, exhibits to the view of his ſovereign a moſt ſtriking and faithful picture of his adminiſtration. "Whichever way," ſays this anonymous and inviſible ſpeaker, at the concluſion of his epiſtle, "you turn your eyes, you ſee nothing but perplexity and diſtreſs.

You

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* This writer did not heſitate, in numerous inſtances, to inſinuate charges the moſt heinous and criminal againſt perſons the moſt diſtinguiſhed in life, without pretending to ſupport them, though repeatedly and loudly called upon, by even the ſhadow of a proof. Of the duke of Bedford he ſays, ſpeaking of the treaty of peace, "It is not poſſible that ſo many public ſacrifices ſhould have been made without ſome private compenſation." The princeſs dowager of Wales he compares to "the abandoned royal inamorata of the deteſted Mortimer." Sir William Draper he accuſes of having "ſold the companions of his victory"—the duke of Grafton with betraying lord Rockingham, and ſacrificing lord Chatham; and, in a tone of ſtill more impudent and contemptible abuſe, with having, as ranger of one of the royal foreſts, "refuſed the king's timber to the royal navy." When a man brings forward anonymous accuſations of this nature, and baſely ſhrinks from the ſubſequent inveſtigation, he ſtands recorded to all future times, a LIAR, an ASSASSIN, and a COWARD.

You have ſtill an honorable part to act—Diſcard thoſe little perſonal reſentments which have too long directed your public conduct—come forward to your people—lay aſide the wretched formalities of a king—tell them you have been fatally deceived. This is not a time to trifle with your fortune—the people of England are loyal to the houſe of Hanover, not from a vain preference of one family to another, but from a conviction that the eſtabliſhment of that family was neceſſary to the ſupport of their civil and religious liberties. This, ſir, is a principle of allegiance equally ſolid and rational, fit for Engliſhmen to adopt, and well worthy of your majeſty's encouragement. We cannot long be deluded by nominal diſtinctions—the name of Stuart of itſelf is only contemptible; armed with the ſovereign authority, their principles are formidable—the prince who imitates their conduct ſhould be warned by their example, and, while he plumes himſelf upon the ſecurity of his title to the throne, ſhould remember, that, as it was acquired by one revolution, it may be loſt by another."

On the appearance of this letter, the attorney general had orders immediately to file a bill *ex officio* in the court of king's bench, againſt the publiſher Woodfall, for uttering a falſe and ſeditious libel. Lord Mansfield, who preſided on the trial, in ſumming up the evidence, informed the jury, that the *fact of publication* was all that came under their cognizance—the queſtion of libel or no libel being a mere queſtion of law, to be decided by the court. This diſtinction moſt unqueſtionably was not authorized by the antient practice of the courts, though in modern times it had gradually advanced itſelf into an eſtabliſhed principle of juriſprudence. But it is evident that, if this doctrine be admitted, the proper uſe of juries is wholly ſuperſeded; and the judge is made, what the conſtitution never intended him to be—the arbiter of the fate of his fellow-ſubjects. In reality, it might as plauſibly be aſſerted, ed, that, in the caſes of murder or robbery, the mere fact of deprivation of life, or ſeizure of property, ſhould be found by the jury, and the judge be left to pronounce upon the criminality or innocence of the action, as that the queſtion of law and fact ſhould be ſeparated in the matter of libel. Lord Mansfield himſelf was compelled in the preſent inſtance to admit the *power* of the jury to include both in a general verdict, though he affirmed the exerciſe of this power to be incompatible with their duty and their oath. That the determination of any *mere queſtion of law*, ariſing out of the circumſtances or facts given in evidence, properly and ſolely appertains to the court, has never been diſputed; and indeed ſuch mere queſtion of law is never ſubmitted to the jury: but it is on the other hand equally clear to common ſenſe, that when the charge or criminal allegation, compounded as it muſt neceſſarily be of law and fact, is referred to the jury, they betray the truſt repoſed in them, if, when the law is *ſufficiently apparent*, they relinquiſh their grand conſtitutional privilege of deciding on the guilt or innocence of the perſon accuſed. In caſes of peculiar difficulty, the jury are indeed with great propriety permitted to return a ſpecial verdict, in which the facts only are found, and it is left to the court to apply the law in conformity to ſuch ſpecific ſtatement: and ſurely it may be allowed by thoſe who are moſt deeply verſed in the myſteries of the law, that a jury, however incapable in certain caſes to determine, i. e. to underſtand the law with the beſt aſſiſtance of the pleaders and of the court, are at leaſt competent to judge whether they do underſtand it or not. After long deliberation, the jury impanelled in the preſent cauſe returned their verdict, "Guilty of printing and publiſhing ONLY;" thus virtually negativing the ſeditious meaning and intention, which being of the eſſence of the charge, though according to the new doctrine a queſtion of pure law, the verdict amounted to an abſolute acquittal,

quittal, and the defendant Woodfall was diſcharged amidſt the univerſal and unbounded acclamations of the people *.

By an almoſt total ſeceſſion from buſineſs for two years, the health of lord Chatham was in an unexpected degree reſtored. His mind alſo was greatly calmed by the reconciliation which had now taken place, with his neareſt relative lord Temple, whom he had ever loved and eſteemed, and whoſe friendſhip he had in a tranſient moment of political elation raſhly and wantonly forfeited. This was an event which he had never ceaſed to lament. The ſevere reflections of lord Temple, he ſaid, he could endure, for he knew they proceeded from the warmth and openneſs of his nature, which was ſuperior to all concealment and hypocriſy. This was an opinion founded on long and intimate knowledge. He had on a former occaſion ſtyled him "a man whom he was proud to call his friend, and whoſe fidelity was as unſhaken as his virtue." From the period of this re-union to the end of their lives the moſt cordial harmony ſubſiſted between them; and Mr. Grenville alſo acceding

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* In the famous caſe of Buſhel, in the reign of Charles II. that great lawyer and magiſtrate lord chief juſtice Vaughan maintained at large, and with diſtinguiſhed ability, an opinion diametrically oppoſite to the *new-fangled* doctrine of the courts, as delivered by lord Mansfield. "In ſpecial verdicts," ſays lord Vaughan, "the jury inform the naked facts, and the court deliver the law; but upon all *general iſſues* the jury find, not as in a ſpecial verdict, the fact of every caſe by itſelf, leaving the law to the court, but find for the plaintiff or defendant upon the *iſſue to be tried*, wherein they reſolve both LAW and FACT completely, and not the fact by itſelf—ſo as though they anſwer not *ſingly* to the queſtion, 'What is the law?' yet they determine the law in all caſes where iſſue is joined and tried in the principal caſe, except where the verdict is ſpecial." JUNIUS himſelf very juſtly remarks in his letter to lord Mansfield—"In other criminal proſecutions the malice of the deſign is confeſſedly as much the ſubject of conſideration to a jury as the certainty of the fact. If a different doctrine prevails in the caſe of libels, why ſhould it not extend to all criminal caſes?——why not to capital offences? What good reaſon can be aſſigned why the life of the ſubject ſhould be better protected than his liberty or property?" The uniform language of lord Mansfield on this ſubject he profeſſes to regard as evidence of a ſettled plan to contract the legal power of juries, and to draw queſtions inſeparable from fact within the *arbitrium* of the court. This inference, if not ſtrictly juſt, is at leaſt plauſible; but when he ſays of this diſtinguiſhed nobleman, "that our language has no term of reproach, the mind no idea of deteſtation, which has not been happily applied to him, and that he has paſſed a whole life of deliberate iniquity," we are ſtruck with indignant amazement at the enormity of the charges, and are compelled to acknowledge that they reflect infamy only on the accuſer.

ceding to this reconciliation, the bond of fraternal amity was perfectly reſtored. With his health, his intellectual faculties, ſo long clouded and oppreſſed, reſumed their priſtine force and vigor; and it is remarkable, that from this time to the termination of his life they ſhone out with a brightneſs and luſtre in no reſpect inferior to that which they diſplayed in the full meridian of his long and glorious career.

The parliament met on the 9th of January, 1770, and, on the motion for an addreſs to the throne, lord Chatham aroſe, and declared "that, at his advanced period of life, bowing under the weight of his infirmities, he might perhaps have ſtood excuſed if he had continued in his retirement, and never taken part again in public affairs; but the alarming ſtate of the nation called upon him—forced him to come forward once more, and to execute that duty which he owed to GOD, to his ſovereign, and his country. The ſituation of foreign affairs was, he ſaid, critical; but what more immediately demanded their lordſhips' attention was, with grief he ſpoke it, the diviſions and diſtractions which prevailed in every part of the empire. He lamented thoſe unhappy meaſures which had alienated the colonies from the mother country, and which had driven them into exceſſes he could not juſtify. Such, however, was his partiality to America, that he was inclined to make allowance even for thoſe exceſſes. The diſcontents of three millions of people deſerved conſideration—the foundation of thoſe diſcontents ought to be removed. This was the true way of putting a ſtop to thoſe combinations which the addreſs ſtyled 'unwarrantable,' and which he readily admitted to be alarming and dangerous. The diſcontents of the Americans, however, at the preſent criſis were unimportant, in compariſon of thoſe which prevailed in this kingdom. It was an obligation incumbent upon that houſe to inquire into the cauſes of the notorious diſſatisfaction expreſſed by the whole Engliſh nation, to ſtate thoſe cauſes to their ſovereign,

vereign, and to give him their beſt advice in what manner he ought to act. The privileges of the greateſt and of the meaneſt ſubjects ſtood upon the ſame foundation; it was therefore their higheſt intereſt, as well as their bounden duty, to watch over and protect the rights of the people. The liberty of the ſubject," ſaid he, " is invaded, my lords, not only in our diſtant provinces, but at home. The people are loud in their complaints—they demand redreſs; and until the injuries they have received are redreſſed, they will never return to a ſtate of tranquillity; nor ought they; for in my judgment, my lords, and I ſpeak it boldly, better were it for them to periſh in a glorious contention for their rights, than to purchaſe a ſlaviſh tranquillity at the expence of a ſingle iota of the conſtitution. Not being able to entertain the ſmalleſt doubt that the preſent univerſal diſcontent of the nation ariſes from the proceedings of the houſe of commons upon the expulſion of Mr. Wilkes, I think that we ought in our addreſs to ſtate that matter to his majeſty;" and with this deſign his lordſhip concluded his ſpeech by moving the following amendment to the addreſs: " And for theſe great and eſſential purpoſes we will with all convenient ſpeed take into our moſt ſerious conſideration the cauſes of the diſcontents which prevail in ſo many parts of your majeſty's dominions, and particularly the late proceedings of the houſe of commons, touching the incapacity of John Wilkes, eſq. expelled by that houſe, to be re-elected a member to ſerve in this preſent parliament; thereby refuſing, by a reſolution of one branch of the legiſlature only, to the ſubject his common right, and depriving the electors of Middleſex of their free choice of a repreſentative."

This amendment was very powerfully oppoſed by lord Mansfield, who began with affirming, " that he had never delivered any opinion upon the legality of the proceedings of the houſe of commons on the Middleſex election, nor ſhould he now. He had locked it up in his own breaſt, and it ſhould die with him. He acknowledged the unhappy diſtracted ſtate of the nation, but he was happy to affirm that he had in no degree contributed to it. Declarations of the law made by either houſe of parliament were," he aſſerted, "always attended with bad effects; he had conſtantly oppoſed them, whenever he had opportunity, and in his judicial capacity thought himſelf bound never to pay the leaſt regard to them. But he made a wide diſtinction between the general declarations of law, and the particular deciſions which might be made by either houſe in their judicial capacity, upon a caſe coming regularly before them, and properly the ſubject of their juriſdiction—that for his own part, whenever the ſtatute law was ſilent, he knew not where to look for the law of parliament, or for a definition of the privileges of either houſe, except in the proceedings and deciſions of each houſe reſpectively—that a queſtion touching the ſeat of a member in the lower houſe could only be determined by that houſe; there was no other court where it could be tried, nor to which there could be an appeal from their deciſion—that wherever a court of juſtice is ſupreme, and their ſentence final, the determination of that court muſt be ſubmitted to as the law of the land. He admitted that judges might be corrupt, and their ſentences erroneous; but theſe were caſes for which, in reſpect of ſupreme courts, the conſtitution had provided no remedy. If they wilfully determined wrong, it was iniquitous indeed, and in the higheſt degree deteſtable; but it was a crime of which no human tribunal could take cognizance. He avoided entering into the merits of the late deciſion of the houſe of commons, becauſe it was a ſubject he was convinced their lordſhips had no right to diſcuſs; but he affirmed, that the amendment propoſed manifeſtly violated every form and uſage of parliament, and was a groſs attack upon the privileges of the houſe of commons—that there never was an inſtance of the lords *inquiring* into the proceedings of that houſe with reſpect to their own members,

bers, much leſs of their taking upon them to *cenſure* ſuch proceedings, or of their adviſing the crown to take notice of them. If indeed it be the purpoſe of the amendment to provoke a quarrel with the houſe of commons, I confeſs, ſaid his lordſhip, it will have that effect certainly and immediately. The lower houſe will undoubtedly aſſert their privileges, and give you vote for vote. I leave it therefore to your lordſhips to conſider the fatal effects which in ſuch a conjuncture as the preſent may ariſe from an open breach between the two houſes of parliament."

Lord Chatham once more roſe to complain that the ſcope and deſign of the amendment propoſed by him had been totally miſrepreſented. "The amendment contained a mere ſtatement of facts, and cenſure was no farther implicated than as the facts themſelves were illegal or unjuſtifiable. He made no ſcruple however to declare, that the conſtitution of the country had been invaded by the houſe of commons, and he now heard with aſtoniſhment that invaſion defended upon principle. What, ſaid he, my lords, is this myſterious power, undefined by law, unknown to the ſubject, which we muſt not approach without awe, not ſpeak of without reverence, which no man may queſtion, and to which all men muſt ſubmit? When our kings were obliged to confeſs that their title to the crown and the rule of their government had no other foundation than the known laws of the land, I never expected to hear a divine right or a divine infallibility attributed to any other branch of the legiſlature. Power without right is the moſt odious and deteſtable object that can be offered to the human imagination. The noble lord aſſures us that the houſe of commons, when they act as judges, have no law to direct them but their own wiſdom—that their deciſion is law, and, if they determine wrong, the ſubject has no appeal but to Heaven. What then, my lords, are all the generous efforts, the glorious contentions of our anceſtors reduced to this concluſion, that, inſtead of the arbitrary power of a king, we muſt ſubmit to the arbitrary power of a houſe of commons? Tyranny, my lords, is in no ſhape ſo formidable as where it is aſſumed and exerciſed by a number of tyrants. But, my lords, this is not the conſtitution; for we all know that the firſt principle of the conſtitution is, that the ſubject ſhall not be governed by the *arbitrium* of any one man or body of men, but by certain laws to which he has virtually given his aſſent. That the deciſion of the houſe of commons violates the ſpirit of the conſtitution is indiſputable, but the noble lord affirms that this great grievance admits not of a remedy. My lords, I have better hopes of the conſtitution, and a firmer confidence in the wiſdom and authority of this houſe. It is poſſible that the inquiry now recommended may lead us to adviſe his majeſty to diſſolve the preſent parliament; nor have I a doubt of our right to give that advice if we ſhould think it neceſſary, and his majeſty will then determine whether he will yield to the united petitions of his people."

The amendment, after a vehement debate, was at length negatived; and it may be remarked upon the oppoſite reaſonings employed by theſe juſtly celebrated noblemen, that the arguments of lord Mansfield are incontrovertible, on the ſuppoſition of the exiſtence of a regular ſyſtem of government; and that the reaſonings of lord Chatham, however abſtractedly noble and juſt, are applicable only to caſes which imply, if not an actual ſubverſion of government, at leaſt the expediency of incurring the eventual riſque of ſuch ſubverſion. That the juriſdiction of the houſe of commons extended to the caſe of the Middleſex election, as well as all other elections, and that the validity of their deciſion could not on any eſtabliſhed judicial principles be diſputed, is ſufficiently apparent; and if it be admitted that this deciſion was in fact unwiſe, or even unjuſt, it cannot without the utmoſt extravagance be deemed ſuch an inſtance of oppreſſion or miſrule as to juſtify a public or national reſiſtance, or the adoption of any meaſures which evidently bore that complexion or tendency.

Lord Camden, having in the courſe of the debate condemned in deciſive terms the proceedings of the houſe of commons, and actually dividing on this occaſion with lord Chatham, was immediately compelled to relinquiſh the great ſeal; but ſuch was the political conſternation prevailing at this criſis, that no perſon competent to the office could be perſuaded to accept it. Mr. Yorke, attorney-general, ſon of the late lord chancellor Hardwicke, a man of the higheſt profeſſional ability, had given a poſitive aſſurance to the earl his brother, that he would not upon any terms liſten to the offers of the court: but on being ſent for by the king, and earneſtly ſolicited, he at length in a fatal moment of weakneſs and guilt *conſented*, and a patent was immediately ordered to be prepared for his elevation to the peerage, by the title of lord Morden. On repairing to the reſidence of his brother, in order to explain to him the motives of his acceptance, he was *refuſed admiſſion*; and in the agitation of his mind, unable to endure the torture of his own reflections, he in a few hours put a period to his exiſtence. The great ſeal was after this cataſtrophe put into commiſſion, and at length (January 1771) given to Mr. juſtice Bathurſt, only ſon of lord Bathurſt, created baron Apſley, a nobleman by whoſe talents the ſplendid reputation of lord Camden was in no danger of being eclipſed. The removal of that great magiſtrate was followed by the reſignations of the dukes of Beaufort and Mancheſter; the earls of Coventry and Huntingdon, and lord Granby, commander in chief of the forces of Great Britain. The earl of Briſtol chooſing the tranquil and irreſponſible poſt of firſt lord of the bedchamber, vacated by the earl of Huntingdon, the privy ſeal was delivered to the earl of Halifax.

On the 22d of January 1770, the marquis of Rockingham moved for fixing a day to take into conſideration the ſtate of the nation. His lordſhip inſiſted, " that the preſent unhappy condition of affairs, and the univerſal diſcontents of the people, did not ariſe from any immediate temporary cauſe, but had grown upon the nation by degrees from the moment of his majeſty's acceſſion to the throne: that a total change had then taken place in the old ſyſtem of Engliſh government, and a new maxim adopted, fatal to the liberties of this country, viz. that the royal prerogative alone was ſufficient to ſupport government, to whatever hands the adminiſtration ſhould be committed. The operation of this principle, his lordſhip ſaid, could be traced through every act of government during the preſent reign, in which his majeſty's *ſecret adviſers* could be ſuppoſed to have any influence. He recommended it therefore ſtrongly to their lordſhips, to fix an early day for taking into conſideration the ſtate of this country in all its relations and dependencies, foreign, provincial, and domeſtic, for we had been injured in them all. That conſideration would, he truſted, lead their lordſhips to adviſe the crown, not only how to correct paſt errors, but how to eſtabliſh a ſyſtem of government more wiſe, more permanent, better ſuited to the genius of the people, and conſiſtent with the ſpirit of the conſtitution."

The duke of Grafton himſelf roſe to ſecond the motion; and lord Chatham, declaring his intention anticipated by his grace, proteſted, "that his infirmities muſt fall heavy on him indeed, if he did not attend his duty in the houſe that day; and he wiſhed his avowed approbation of the motion now made to be underſtood as a public demonſtration of the cordial union that now ſubſiſted between the noble marquis and himſelf. There was indeed a time, he ſaid, when thoſe who wiſhed well to neither, found a ſufficient gratification for their malignity againſt both. But the noble lord and his friends are now, ſaid he, united with me and mine, upon a principle which I truſt will be found as permanent as it is honorable;—not to ſhare the emoluments of the ſtate, but, if poſſible, to ſave it from impending ruin."

The 2d of February was fixed upon by the houſe for reſolving itſelf into a committee of inquiry; but on the

28th of January, the duke of Grafton unexpectedly reſigned his office as firſt lord commiſſioner of the treaſury; and lord North, who had now been two years chancellor of the exchequer, was nominated his ſucceſſor. Thus was at length formed that famous adminiſtration, which exerciſed the powers of government for twelve ſucceſſive years; and which, not deriving a ſingle ray of reaſon from the errors of their predeceſſors, by their raſh, violent, and vindictive meaſures ſhook the mighty and majeſtic fabric of the Britiſh Empire to its very foundation.

The character of the nobleman who at this criſis voluntarily relinquiſhed the helm of government, has been, in conſequence of the violent, not to ſay the malignant and factious ſpirit which predominated under his adminiſtration, groſsly miſrepreſented. Educated in the pureſt principles of antient whiggiſm, for a zealous attachment to which his grace's anceſtors had from the era of the revolution been conſpicuouſly diſtinguiſhed*, he made an early and brilliant entrance into public life, under the auſpices of the earl of Chatham, who, in a manner not to be reſiſted, urged his acceptance of the treaſury, which the duke, on the firſt offer, had poſitively declined. The unfortunate illneſs and conſequent incapacity of that nobleman proved the ſource of infinite inconvenience; and the duke of Grafton, deprived of the powerful ſupport which he expected from the wiſdom, experience, and popularity of his illuſtrious friend and co-adjutor, was in points of great moment oppoſed and over-ruled in the cabinet; though, in the deluſive hope of more propitious times, he was reluctantly perſuaded to continue at the head of affairs; the oſtenſible patron of meaſures which he in reality diſcountenanced and diſapproved. The diſmiſſion of lord Camden, injuriouſly imputed to the influence of the duke of Grafton, was in fact the immediate cauſe of his grace's reſignation; and the friendſhip which had long ſubſiſted between theſe two noblemen, ſuffered no interruption in conſequence of the unhappy political differences now prevailing. The late miniſter nevertheleſs, on his ſeceſſion from office, was far from joining the ſtandard of oppoſition; and on the grand popular queſtion of the Middleſex election, however farther reflection might ſuggeſt the idea, or, to ſpeak more properly, enforce the conviction of the total inexpediency of the meaſures adopted by government; he at no ſubſequent period, even when his connection with the court was entirely diſſolved, appeared at all to recede from his original opinion reſpecting the conſtitutional and parliamentary rectitude of the vote of incapacitation. And the whole tenor of this nobleman's political life has ſufficiently evinced, that he was incapable of acting in a manner which he conceived to be in any reſpect contrary to the true and eſſential intereſts of his country.

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* The firſt duke of Grafton, of whom hiſtorians have univerſally ſpoken in the higheſt terms of applauſe, loſt his life, when ſcarcely paſt the prime, in defence of his country, at the ſiege of Cork, under the earl of Marlborough, in the year ſucceeding the revolution.

On the day ſucceeding the reſignation of the miniſter, the houſe of commons reſolving itſelf into a grand committee on the ſtate of the nation, Mr. Dowdeſwell moved, "That the houſe, in the exerciſe of its juriſdiction, ought to judge of elections by the law of the land, and by the cuſtom and practice of parliament, which is part of that law." The motion, if adopted, was intended to be followed by other reſolutions, purporting the unequivocal condemnation and conſequent reſcindment of the vote of the laſt ſeſſion. This leading propoſition was ſo ſkilfully worded, that it was impoſſible to put a direct negative upon it; and to evade it by the previous queſtion would only lead to a revival of the ſame motion in a new and varied form. It was therefore with equal parliamentary adroitneſs at once laid at reſt by the court party, who, through the medium of the new miniſter, lord North, moved as an amendment the additional words: "And that the judgment of this houſe in the caſe of John Wilkes, eſq. was agreeable to the law of the land, and fully authorized by the practice of parliament." Though the amendment was oppoſed with vehemence, as a moſt unfair and diſingenuous perverſion of the true meaning of the reſolution, it was carried upon the diviſion by 224 to 180 voices:—thus precluding all hope of redreſs by any future effort in that houſe of parliament.

On the 2d of February 1770, being the day previouſly fixed upon by the peers for reſolving themſelves into a ſimilar committee, lord Rockingham, after an introductory ſpeech of ſome length, moved, "That the houſe of commons, in the exerciſe of its judicial authority in matters of election, is bound to judge according to the law of the land, and the known and eſtabliſhed law and cuſtom of parliament, which is part thereof." The motion was ſupported with all his accuſtomed warmth and energy by the earl of Chatham, who condemned the conduct of the houſe of commons in terms of great aſperity. He denominated the vote of that houſe, which had made colonel Luttrell repreſentative for Middleſex, "a groſs invaſion of the Engliſh conſtitution, and a corrupt ſacrifice of their own honor. To gratify *individual reſentment*," he ſaid, "the laws had been deſpiſed, trampled upon, deſtroyed—thoſe laws which had been made by the ſtern virtue of their anceſtors—the *iron barons* of old, to whoſe virtue and whoſe blood—to whoſe ſpirit in the hour of conteſt, and to whoſe fortitude in the triumph of victory, the *ſilken barons* of this day owe their honors and their ſecurity. Theſe meaſures," he affirmed, "made a part of that unhappy ſyſtem which had been formed in the preſent reign, with a view to new-model the conſtitution as well as the government. What might have been only matter of ſuſpicion before, was now demonſtrated to univerſal conviction, viz. that miniſters held a corrupt influence in parliament. It was therefore particularly neceſſary for their lordſhips to interpoſe at this critical and alarming period, in order, on the one hand, to moderate the rage of an incenſed nation, and, on the other, to form a conſtitutional barrier againſt the criminal depredations of his majeſty's miniſters." The queſtion being now put, it was by a great majority reſolved, that the ſpeaker ſhould reſume the chair; and the original motion being thus evaded, lord Marchmont, it being now paſt midnight, moved, "That any reſolution of this houſe, directly or indirectly impeaching a judgment of the houſe of commons, in a matter where their juriſdiction is competent, final and concluſive, would be a violation of the conſtitutional right of the commons, tends to make a breach between the two houſes of parliament, and leads to a general confuſion."

This motion being zealouſly ſupported by lord Mansfield, lord Chatham again roſe, and by cogent reaſonings endeavored to ſhew the neceſſity of the interference of that houſe, in caſe of an invaſion of the people's liberties, or an unconſtitutional determination of the houſe of commons; and he affirmed, that the caſe of the county of Middleſex *fell* under both thoſe denominations—Then ſuddenly apoſtrophizing the houſe, he conjured the peerage of England, by the noble blood which had flowed for many ages in their veins, by the glorious ſtruggles of their anceſtors in behalf of liberty, not to behold with indifference a tranſaction ſo alarming. "If," ſaid he, "my lords, the conſtitution muſt be wounded, let it not receive its mortal ſtab *at this* dark and midnight hour, when almoſt every eye is cloſed in ſleep, and when robbers and aſſaſſins only are awake and prowling for their prey." At half paſt one in the morning the queſtion was put, and decided in the affirmative, though accompanied by a ſtrong and animated proteſt.

The exertions of lord Chatham during this remarkable ſeſſion were vigorous and unintermitted. On the 1ſt of May 1770, his lordſhip preſented to the houſe, a bill "for *reverſing* the adjudications of the houſe of commons, whereby John Wilkes, eſq. has been adjudged incapable of being elected a member to ſerve in this preſent parliament, and the freeholders of the county of Middleſex have been deprived of one of their legal repreſentatives." In deſcanting on the ſubject of this bill, he declared, "that a violent outrage had been committed, which ſtruck at every thing dear and ſacred to the liberties of Engliſhmen. I am afraid," ſaid he, "my lords, that this meaſure has ſprung too near the throne. I am ſorry for it; but I hope his majeſty will ſoon open his eyes and ſee it in all its deformity." The motion for the ſecond reading being negatived, lord Gower moved for its rejection; and on a diviſion, 89 voted for the motion, 43 againſt it. Before the houſe adjourned, lord Chatham deſired their lordſhips might be ſummoned for the 4th of May; "for," ſaid he, "I have a motion of great importance to make relative to the KING."—And the lords being ſummoned accordingly on the day appointed, lord Chatham moved, "That it is the opinion of the houſe, that the advice inducing his majeſty's anſwer to the late addreſs of the city of London, is of a moſt dangerous tendency, inaſmuch as the exerciſe of the cleareſt rights of the ſubject has been thereby checked and reprimanded—an anſwer ſo harſh," his lordſhip affirmed, "as to have no precedent in the hiſtory of this country, and ſuch as the Stuarts had never dared to venture upon in the zenith of their power" In the addreſs alluded to by his lordſhip, which alſo bore the unuſual title of a *remonſtrance* to the king, the addreſſers hazard the extravagant affirmation, "that the houſe of commons have done a deed more ruinous in its conſequences than the levying of ſhip-money by Charles I. or the diſpenſing power aſſumed by James II. a deed which muſt VITIATE ALL THE PROCEEDINGS of this parliament; for the acts of the legiſlature can no more be valid without a legal houſe of commons, than without a legal prince on the throne." Thus we ſee how folly on the part of the government generates faction on that of the people. Notwithſtanding the deference due to the opinion tion of lord Chatham, whoſe patriotic ardor tranſported him on this occaſion far beyond the ſober limits of diſcretion, it muſt be acknowledged that the king, in his anſwer, with too much reaſon pronounced the contents of this remonſtrance "to be diſreſpectful to himſelf, injurious to parliament, and irreconcileable to the principles of the conſtitution." It is ſcarcely neceſſary to add, that the motion of lord Chatham was negatived by a vaſt majority; and the addreſs itſelf gave birth to a reſolution of the houſe of commons, that "to deny the legality of the preſent parliament, or to aſſert their acts to be invalid, was unwarrantable, and tended to deſtroy the allegiance of the ſubjects:" and a joint addreſs was preſented to the king by the two houſes, thanking him for his conduct on this occaſion. The language of the courtiers againſt the framers of this remonſtrance was high and menacing; but no miniſter of the crown durſt, at this juncture, take upon himſelf the reſponſibility of a judicial proſecution againſt them.

Not to be diverted or intimidated from his purpoſe, lord Chatham made, after a ſhort interval, a motion for an addreſs to the king to diſſolve the parliament. He ſtated "the public diſcontents in England, Ireland, and America; affirmed, that the people had no confidence in the preſent houſe of commons, who had betrayed their truſt; and ſhewed, from the ſituation of public affairs, the great neceſſity of having a Parliament in whom the people can place a proper confidence. Inſtead," he ſaid, "of depriving a county of its repreſentative, one or more members ought to be added to the repreſentation of the counties, in order to operate as a balance againſt the weight of the ſeveral corrupt and venal boroughs*." All arguments were in vain—ſcarcely indeed was the appearance of decorum preſerved. The court lords called for the queſtion! the queſtion! and a rude negative was put upon the motion. He had the ſatisfaction, nevertheleſs, to perceive his conduct during the whole of this intereſting ſeſſion highly acceptable to the nation; and on the 1ſt of June, a committee, delegated by the city of London, waited on his lordſhip with a vote of thanks "for the zeal he had ſhewn in ſupport of thoſe invaluable and ſacred privileges, the right of election and the right of petition, as well as for the wiſhes expreſſed by him that parliaments may be reſtored to their original purity, by ſhortening their duration, and introducing a more full and equal repreſentation." But no efforts could after all reinſtate this nobleman in the poſſeſſion of his former envied and ſplendid height of popular affection and favor.

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* This was a very favorite idea with lord Chatham, and repeatedly ſuggeſted by him on various occaſions, both public and private. In a letter to lord Temple, dated April 17, 1771, he ſays, "Allow a ſpeculator in a great chair to add, that a plan for more equal repreſentation, by additional knights of the ſhire, ſeems highly reaſonable, and to ſhorten the duration of parliaments not leſs ſo. If your lordſhip ſhould approve, could lord Lyttleton's caution be brought

In the former part of the ſeſſion, lord North, as one of the firſt acts of his adminiſtration, had moved the repeal of the obnoxious port-duties of 1767, EXCEPTING the DUTY on TEA, which was intentionally omitted, on the avowed principle of aſſerting the ſupremacy of Great Britain; and when ſtrongly urged by the members in oppoſition, both of the Rockingham and Grenville parties, not to preſerve the contention when he relinquiſhed the revenue, his language was the reverſe of conciliatory. "Has the repeal of the ſtamp act," ſaid this miniſter, "taught the Americans obedience? Has our lenity inſpired them with moderation? Can it be proper, while they deny our legal power to tax them, to acquieſce in the argument of illegality? and, by the repeal of the law, to give up that power? No—the propereſt time to exert our right of taxation is when the right is diſputed. To temporize is to yield; and the authority of the

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brought to taſte thoſe ideas, we ſhould take poſſeſſion of ſtrong ground, let who will decline to follow us." To this plan of reform, however, ſerious objections may be made; and lord Chatham himſelf, with the candor and ingenuouſneſs of a great mind, ſpeaks of it on another occaſion as "a plan humbly ſubmitted to the public wiſdom, to be deliberately weighed, accurately examined, and maturely digeſted."

the mother country, if it is now unſupported, will in reality be relinquiſhed for ever. A total repeal cannot be thought of till AMERICA is PROSTRATE at our FEET."

Such were the political axioms which poſterity will be amazed to learn, under the ill-fated reign of George III. paſſed for wiſdom. Even conceſſion was combined with inſolence; and a feeble effort to regain the affections of America was converted, by an unaccountable infatuation, into an unpardonable inſult to her feelings. In vain was it urged, that the repeal of the ſtamp act *had* in fact produced all the happy and beneficial effects which had been previouſly expected or predicted by its advocates; that lenity on the part of Britain had produced moderation on that of America; and that the ſubſequent diſcontents or violences had ariſen from ſubſequent provocations. "If the aſſertion of an abſtract claim of right," ſaid the members in oppoſition, "be of ſuch mighty importance, a poſitive law already exiſts declaratory of the right—a law in which America ſilently acquieſces; but an attempt in any mode to carry this abſtract right into practice, will be productive of nothing but civil confuſion and interminable diſcord." Theſe arguments made no impreſſion on the phalanx of courtiers and king's friends, who were nevertheleſs compelled on this occaſion to exert their full ſtrength; the miniſterial majority on the diviſion in a full houſe being only 62.

Nearly at this period, Mr. George Grenville introduced into the houſe of commons his famous bill for regulating the proceedings of the houſe on controverted elections, commonly known under the appellation of the GRENVILLE ACT. This was laudably deſigned by the mover, as a ſuppoſed radical remedy for a great and acknowledged evil; the negligence and partiality of the houſe in their elective deciſions being notoriouſly palpable and diſgraceful. But, agreeably to the general character of the framer, this act diſplays much more of integrity than of penetration or ability. Conformably to the proviſions of it, a jury of thirteen perſons are elected by ballot, in a houſe conſiſting of not leſs than one hundred members, to whom the petition is referred; and till ſuch jury is choſen, the houſe is reſtrained from proceeding on any buſineſs. But the remedy has in fact proved more intolerable than the evil. The rights of election, and the qualifications of the electors, are in different places ſo varied, intricate, and complex, and ſo uncertain is the legal iſſue of the generality of election conteſts, that no ſooner was the chance of a fair and impartial hearing obtained, than the multitude of petitions preſented to the houſe impeded in a moſt perplexing degree the courſe of public buſineſs. The trials themſelves were frequently protracted to a length ſo inſufferably tedious, that it was juſtly conſidered as a very heavy penalty to be choſen upon an election committee, and it was uſually found very difficult to make a houſe on the day appointed for the ballot; and ſeſſion after ſeſſion has elapſed, before a conſiderable proportion of the petitions could even come to a hearing; and, by a mockery of juſtice, after an extravagant expenſe has been incurred in fees to counſel, indemnifications to witneſſes, and gratuities to agents, a man is perhaps declared duly elected to a ſeat in parliament, when parliament itſelf may be approaching to its diſſolution. A remedy of a totally different nature therefore is evidently wanting, as a preparatory ſtep to which, the qualifications of the different deſcriptions of electors throughout the kingdom ought to be ſimplified, and clearly defined; and were the houſe, upon the election of a new parliament, previous to its entering upon buſineſs, to divide itſelf into different committees to determine upon the merits of the petitions preſented, the whole proceſs of inveſtigation might doubtleſs be completed within the compaſs of a very few weeks.

Although the parliament of Ireland, in the courſe of the preſent year, had gratified the wiſhes of the court, by conſenting to raiſe the eſtabliſhment of troops in that country from twelve to fifteen thouſand men; an incident occurred in the courſe of the ſeſſion, which ſerved to diſplay in a ſtriking point of view their riſing ſpirit of independency. By the famous law paſſed in the reign of Henry VII. under the adminiſtration of Sir Edward Poyning, and thence called Poyning's law, it was enacted, "that the lord lieutenant and council ſhould, under the great ſeal of Ireland, certify to the king and Engliſh privy council the laws propoſed to be paſſed in each ſucceeding parliament, in order to have the ſanction of the great ſeal of England, previous to their being ſubmitted to the Iriſh parliament for its aſſent or diſſent." The rigor of this law, which had been ever regarded as the chief bond of the conſtitutional dependence of that kingdom, was in modern times mitigated by the practice of introducing *heads of a bill* into the Iriſh parliament, in order, when the approval of that aſſembly was obtained, to be tranſmitted to England under the uſual forms.

At this period a money bill originating in the uſual and eſtabliſhed mode, being returned from England under the ſeal of Great Britain, was rejected by the Iriſh houſe of commons, under the plea that it did not originate in that houſe. In juſtification of this proceeding, they maintained that Poyning's law, and the other ſubſequent ſtatutes by which that law was modified and enforced, made no ſpecific mention of money bills, which might therefore by juſt inference be ſuppoſed excepted;—that if the origination of money bills were not in reality the ſole right of the commons, this muſt at leaſt be admitted to be the better and more conſtitutional mode; and that, in rejecting this bill they exerciſed an indubitable right, even ſuppoſing the right of the council to originate the bill to be equally indiſputable. The lord lieutenant, lord Townſhend, though he thought proper to allow the Iriſh parliament to grant their own money in their own way, proteſted againſt the right claimed by the houſe of commons, and endeavored, but in vain, to enter his proteſt upon their journals. The houſe would not permit this violation of their privileges; but the lords were found leſs inflexible, and, after much oppoſition and debate, his excellency's proteſt was ſolemnly recorded on the journals of the peerage. The parliament was immediately prorogued in anger, and with much inconvenience to the public; and theſe proceedings becoming the ſubject of ſerious diſcuſſion in England, it was moved in the Britiſh houſe of commons, that the inſtructions in conſequence of which the parliament of Ireland had been prorogued ſhould be laid before the houſe: but this was negatived by a great majority.

Soon after the riſing of parliament, a third addreſs was preſented to the king by the city of London, in which they lament the heavy diſpleaſure under which they had fallen with his majeſty, in conſequence of the ſentiments expreſſed in their late petition and remonſtrance, to which they nevertheleſs inform his majeſty they ſtill adhered; and they again renewed their prayer for the diſſolution of the preſent parliament. His majeſty in anſwer declared, "that he ſhould have been wanting to the public, as well as to himſelf, had he not expreſſed his diſſatisfaction at their late addreſs; and that he ſhould ill deſerve to be conſidered as the father of his people, could he ſuffer himſelf to be prevailed upon to make ſuch an uſe of his prerogative as was inconſiſtent with the intereſt and dangerous to the conſtitution of the kingdom."

The lord mayor, Beckford, who preſented the petition, a man of undaunted ſpirit and much democratic pride, demanded leave to ANSWER *the* KING. In the momentary confuſion which this demand occaſioned permiſſion was granted; and, with great preſence of mind and fluency of language, he delivered an extempore addreſs to his majeſty, concluding in the following words: "Permit me, ſire, farther to obſerve, that whoever has already dared, or ſhall hereafter endeavor by falſe inſinuations and ſuggeſtions to alienate your majeſty's affections from your loyal ſubjects in general, and from the city of London in particular, is an enemy to your majeſty's perſon and family, a violator of the public peace, and a betrayer of our happy conſtitution, as it was eſtabliſh-

ed at the GLORIOUS and NECESSARY REVOLUTION."
The KING, who was accuſed of the incredible indecorum of *laughing* at the former addreſs, now reddened with anger and aſtoniſhment, and remained in profound ſilence: but when the lord mayor, a ſhort time afterwards, went to St. James's with the cuſtomary congratulation on the birth of a princeſs, he was informed, "that as his lordſhip had thought fit to ſpeak to his majeſty after his anſwer to the late remonſtrance, as it was unuſual, his majeſty deſired that nothing of the kind might happen for the future."

For more than two years the Middleſex election, and the proceedings conſequent upon it, had ſo engroſſed the attention of the miniſtry, the parliament, and the nation, as almoſt to exclude the conſideration of other ſubjects in themſelves far more important and intereſting. At this period, however, an affair of great political moment forced itſelf upon the public notice; and the nation at large, wearied with the tedious and fruitleſs conteſt with the court, hopeleſs of redreſs, and impatient for ſome change of ſcene in the political drama, was now fully prepared to fix its regard upon any new object which ſhould happen to preſent itſelf.

A ſhort time previous to the cloſe of the ſeſſion, lord Chatham had declared, "that a great blow either was, or would ſoon be ſtruck in ſome part of the world." The high idea univerſally entertained of this nobleman's political information and ſagacity, neceſſarily kept the public mind in a ſtate of anxious ſuſpenſe; but the myſtery was quickly developed, and it was in a few weeks publicly aſcertained, that a ſquadron of Spaniſh ſhips from Buenos Ayres had ſeized upon the Malouine or Falkland iſlands, ſituated in the Magellanic Ocean, and of which the Engliſh had been for ſome years the actual occupants or poſſeſſors. Theſe iſlands, conſiſting of two larger and many of a ſmaller ſize, divided by very deep interſections of water, are black, barren, and marſhy; expoſed, even during the ſummer months, to ſtorms and tempeſts almoſt perpetual; and no regular ſettlement, in the ſpace of 200 years which had elapſed ſince the firſt diſcovery of them, had been attempted by any European nation.

It was firſt remarked by lord Anſon, on his return from his famous voyage round the globe, that the poſſeſſion of a port to the ſouthward of the Brazils would be of ſignal ſervice to future navigators for refitting their ſhips, and providing them with neceſſaries previous to their paſſage to the Straits of Magellan, or the doubling Cape Horn: and Falkland Iſlands were particularly ſpecified by him as well adapted to the purpoſe.

On his Lordſhip's ſubſequent advancement to the head of the Admiralty, it was in ſerious contemplation to form a ſettlement on the ſpot. Strong remonſtrances againſt this deſign being however made by the Court of Madrid, with whom the Court of London was at that time very ſolicitous to maintain a good underſtanding, the project was wiſely relinquiſhed. But in the year 1764, under the ill-fated auſpices of Mr. Grenville, "every capital meaſure of whoſe adminiſtration, as lord Chatham juſtly obſerved, was radically wrong," lord Egmont being then at the head of the admiralty, commodore Byron was ſent out to take poſſeſſion of theſe iſlands; and a ſettlement was made, and a ſmall fort erected, in the vicinity of a commodious harbor, to which the name of Port Egmont was given. It happened that about the ſame time a ſettlement had alſo been made, and a fortreſs erected, by the celebrated French navigator M. de Bougainville, on another of theſe iſlands to the eaſtward of the Engliſh ſettlement, under the name of St. Louis. But in conſequence of the repreſentations of the court of Madrid to the court of Verſailles, this was in a ſhort time, by a generous policy, freely yielded to the Spaniards, who gave it the name of Port Solidad. It was well known that, Brazil and Surinam, countries long poſſeſſed by Portugal and Holland, excepted, Spain pretended to the abſolute ſovereignty of the whole ſouthern continent of America, with the various iſlands on the coaſts and ſeas by which it is ſurrounded. The new ſettlement,

ment of the Engliſh, therefore, excited at the court of Madrid the higheſt alarm and uneaſineſs, not merely as an encroachment on the right of dominion, but as it was evident that the principal inducement of England to form this ſettlement, was the facility which it would give, in caſe of a future war between the two powers, to an attack upon the Spaniſh territories bordering on the Great South Sea. Urgent remonſtrances therefore were made to the court of London againſt an encroachment conſidered by the court of Madrid as both unjuſt and invidious, but without effect. Such however was at that period the dread of the power of England, and ſo recent the recollection of the loſſes ſuſtained in the former war, that Spain, jealous in the extreme as ſhe had ever ſhewn herſelf reſpecting her rights of ſovereignty in America, was reduced to the humiliating neceſſity of ſubmitting to an aggreſſion which ſhe wanted the force to repel. But the ſubſequent domeſtic diſtractions which prevailed in England, and which to the nations on the continent appeared as through the medium of a magnifying mirror, the threatening aſpect of affairs in the Engliſh colonies, and the loſs of reputation ſuſtained by England from her tame acquieſcence in the ceſſion of Corſica to France, emboldened the court of Spain to revive her pretenſions to the iſlands in queſtion, and to take vigorous meaſures to enforce her rights. To this ſhe was ſtrongly, though ſecretly, incited by the duc de Choiſeul, prime miniſter of France, a man of talents, and whoſe ambition was at leaſt equal to his ability—whoſe ruling paſſion was the depreſſion of the power of England, and who conceived this to be a favorable opportunity for effecting his purpoſe.

Towards the cloſe of the year 1769, captain Hunt, of the Tamer frigate, cruizing off the iſlands, fell in with a Spaniſh ſchooner belonging to Port Solidad, and, agreeably to what he conceived to be his duty, charged the commander of the ſchooner to depart from that coaſt, as it was the property of his Britannic majeſty. The ſchooner obeyed; but ſoon returned with an officer on board, bringing with him a letter from the governor of Buenos Ayres, addreſſed to captain Hunt, in which the governor in his turn warned the captain to depart from a coaſt belonging to the king of Spain; but on the ſuppoſition that captain Hunt's touching at theſe iſlands was merely accidental, the governor expreſſed his earneſt deſire to ſhew him all poſſible civilities. Captain Hunt replied with warmth, that theſe iſlands were the property of the crown of Great Britain, both by diſcovery and ſettlement; and the governor maintaining with equal warmth the rights of the crown of Spain, an altercation of conſiderable length enſued. But in the reſult, captain Hunt was charged with a direct violation of treaties by the governor, who declared it to be his duty to tranſmit the particulars of this tranſaction to the court of Spain. Captain Hunt, perceiving that this buſineſs was of greater importance than he had at firſt apprehended, and not chooſing to take any further ſteps without proper authority, ſet ſail for England, where he arrived June 1770, two ſmall ſloops only remaining at Port Egmont.

Soon after his departure, a very conſiderable armament, conſiſting of five ſhips of war, with their attendant veſſels, furniſhed with all the apparatus neceſſary for a regular ſiege, appeared before Port Egmont. Captain Farmer, the commandant, knowing the place to be utterly untenable, ſubmitted, after a few ſhots were fired, to a capitulation; by which he and his whole garriſon were allowed to evacuate the place, carrying with them ſuch of their ſtores as they were able. The commander of the Spaniſh ſquadron, not caring however that very early intelligence of this outrage ſhould be carried to England, enjoined captain Farmer not to ſail without his permiſſion; and in order to enſure compliance, he cauſed the rudder of captain Farmer's ſhip, the Favorite, to be taken off and kept on ſhore, and it was not reſtored for the ſpace of twenty days; an inſult to the Britiſh flag not eaſily paralleled. The Favorite was at length permitted to depart, and, after a voyage of ſeventy days, arrived ſafe at Portſmouth.

No ſooner were the particulars of theſe extraordinary proceedings known in England, than the whole nation appeared inflamed with reſentment, and eager to avenge the national honor, thus groſsly and daringly violated. It was ſaid with great confidence and plauſibility, that there was in the preſent inſtance no room for negotiation; for, whatever difference of opinion might exiſt reſpecting the oppoſite abſtract claims of the two crowns, an attack upon an Engliſh fort and garriſon by an armed force was equivalent to a declaration of war. A ſuperior force ought therefore to be ſent without delay, in order to retake the iſlands; and then it might be proper to enter into a negotiation, with a view to determine what reparation was due from Spain for ſo unprovoked and unprecedented an outrage; after which it would be time enough to enter upon the diſcuſſion of the claim of right. But the ſpirit of lord Chatham no longer actuated the Britiſh counſels; and the language of menace and haughtineſs was in this wretched and unfortunate reign reſerved for thoſe national colonies, which it had been the policy of that miniſter to attach to Great Britain by indiſſoluble bonds of affection. A negotiation between the two courts immediately commenced; but the miniſters of Great Britain inſiſting upon the reſtitution of the iſland on the part of Spain as a previous ſtep to the determination of the queſtion of right, there was little appearance that an amicable accommodation could take place.

At the meeting of parliament in the enſuing month of November 1770, the king acquainted the two houſes, in his ſpeech from the throne, that an inſult had been lately offered to the honor of this nation, by an act of "THE GOVERNOR OF BUENOS AYRES, in ſeizing one of his majeſty's poſſeſſions; and that, ſhould ſatisfaction be refuſed by the court of Spain for this injury, preparations had been and were ſtill making to do ourſelves juſtice."

Addreſſes were preſented from both houſes on this occaſion, in a ſtrain calculated to convince the court of Spain, that Engliſhmen, however at variance amongſt themſelves, are ever united, as in a common cauſe, in oppoſition to a common and foreign enemy. The conduct of the miniſtry was nevertheleſs the ſubject of bitter animadverſion. It was remarked, "that intelligence of the hoſtile intentions of Spain had been received in June laſt, but that no meaſures had been taken of timely prevention or vigorous redreſs—no preparations made either of ſecurity or attack—both army and navy had been neglected, and now when danger is at our gates, our miniſters tremble at its approach. It was aſked, whether the governor of Buenos Ayres was a pirate or a Buccaneer, that *his* name ſhould be brought forward as the author of the injury in queſtion? If the king of Spain did not diſavow the act and puniſh the actor, he was himſelf the perſon who committed the outrage; and it was beneath the dignity of the Britiſh crown to make the leaſt mention of the name of the governor, who had done no more than his duty required. The paſt tranſactions, and the general tenor of the policy adopted throughout the preſent reign, underwent a moſt ſevere review. Had the government poſſeſſed the confidence of the people, and the harmony which ought ever to ſubſiſt between them not been interrupted and broken by the arbitrary and oppreſſive conduct of the court, Spain, it was boldly affirmed, would not have dared to riſque the event of a war: but in fact Spain knew that no real riſque was incurred; for the puſillanimous acquieſcence of the Engliſh government in the affair of Corſica plainly ſhewed, that the miniſters of the crown would not ſcruple to ſacrifice both the honor and intereſt of the kingdom, rather than venture upon a WAR, which would probably heighten their unpopularity, and to the management of which they no doubt felt their courage and ability very incompetent."

The miniſters, in order to obviate the force of theſe imputations, now exerted themſelves to the utmoſt in the equipment of a formidable fleet; and the court of Madrid was at laſt convinced, that, unleſs ſome conceſſions were made, an open rupture muſt enſue. The king of France, who dreaded nothing ſo much as a renewal of hoſtilities with England, being apprized of the ſecret intrigues of the duke de Choiſeul at the Spaniſh court, and highly diſſatisfied alſo with the countenance given by the duke to the popular and patriotic party at home, ſent that miniſter into exile, and made preſſing inſtances with his catholic majeſty to come to an amicable accommodation with Great Britain.

In reply to the demand of diſavowal made by England, the marquis de Grimaldi, the Spaniſh miniſter, alleged, that as England well knew in what light the court of Madrid had ever viewed the ſettlement at Port Egmont, it could not be imagined that the king of Spain could really diſapprove the conduct of the governor don Buccarelli. But as it was neither the intereſt nor inclination of Spain to involve herſelf in a war with England, his catholic majeſty was willing to make ſuch conceſſions as ſhould be conſiſtent with his honor and the welfare of his ſubjects: and that inſtructions had been tranſmitted to prince Maſerano, his ambaſſador in London, for this purpoſe.

Prince Maſerano accordingly acquainted the Engliſh ſecretary of ſtate, lord Weymouth, that the king of Spain had impowered him to diſavow any *particular orders* given to M. de Buccarelli, and at the ſame time to ſay that he had acted agreeably to his *general inſtructions* and oath as governor;—that the iſlands ſhould be reſtored; and that it was expected his Britannic majeſty would on his part diſavow captain Hunt's menace, which had prompted the governor to act as he had done.

At this period, lord Weymouth reſigned the ſeals of the ſouthern department to lord Rochford, and a convention was ſoon after concluded on the terms propoſed, but with a ſecret article or engagement annexed, that the iſlands ſhould be evacuated by England within a certain ſpecified term. To this mode of accommodation lord Weymouth refuſed to accede, as injurious to the honor of Great Britain: but the condition not being known or ſuſpected, it afforded at the time no public ground of objection; and when the evacuation of the iſlands actually took place three years afterwards, the quarrel being almoſt forgotten, and the attention of the public otherwiſe engaged, it paſſed off with ſlight and tranſient animadverſions.

The earl of Halifax now took the ſeals of the northern department in the room of lord Rochford; lord Suffolk ſucceeding lord Halifax as lord privy ſeal: and Sir Edward Hawke relinquiſhed his ſeat at the head of the admiralty to the earl of Sandwich. Mr. George Grenville had departed this life November 13, being the firſt day of the preſent ſeſſion; and many of his friends joining the adminiſtration, the majorities in both houſes, notwithſtanding the general unpopularity of the miniſters, became very formidable.

On the 22d of January 1771 the parliament met purſuant to their adjournment; and the declaration of the Spaniſh ambaſſador, and the acceptance of lord Rochford, were laid before the houſe. Prince Maſerano, after diſavowing in the name of his Catholic majeſty the violence uſed at port Egmont, and engaging formally for the reſtitution of the iſlands, declared, that his Catholic majeſty conſiders this reſtitution as not affecting the queſtion concerning the prior right of ſovereignty of the iſlands. The admiſſion of this reſervation was heavily cenſured, as leaving the main queſtion ſtill in diſpute, and furniſhing Spain with a full juſtification, ſhould ſhe immediately re-commence hoſtilities, or at any future period that ſhe may deem more favorable to the eſtabliſhment of her claim. If the right of Great Britain to the iſlands in queſtion were juſt and valid, it was affirmed, that no proper or adequate atonement had been made for the aggreſſion committed by Spain: on the other hand, if the right of Great Britain could not be ſuſtained, the impolicy of our conduct in forming this diſtant ſettlement could be equalled only by its injuſtice. An addreſs of thanks and approbation being moved, a violent debate enſued, and it was not carried without a long and obſtinate oppoſition—nineteen peers entering their proteſt in the journals of the upper houſe againſt it. The laſt head or article of this proteſt concludes with the following remarkable words:—"Any counter-claim or aſſertion whatever of his majeſty's right of ſovereignty has been ſtudiouſly avoided from the beginning to the accompliſhment of this unhappy tranſaction, which, after the expence of millions, ſettles no conteſt, aſſerts no right, exacts no reparation, affords no ſecurity; but ſtands as a monument of reproach to the wiſdom of the national councils, of diſhonor to the eſſential dignity of his majeſty's crown, and of diſgrace to the hitherto untainted honor of the Britiſh flag.

Upon the whole it muſt be acknowledged that Spain, in this tranſaction, notwithſtanding her recent abaſement, negotiated on at leaſt equal terms with England: and, though precipitately to have involved the nation in a war for the ſake of an object ſo inſignificant and contemptible as the poſſeſſion of two or three barren rocks under a ſtormy ſky, would have redounded little to the honor of the preſent adminiſtration, great and heavy cenſure neceſſarily falls on the former miniſter, Mr. Grenville, who, knowing the nature and extent of the claims of Spain, and the eventual probability of a rupture, would raſhly riſque ſo great a calamity for what at the beſt could be conſidered only as a trivial, remote, and uncertain advantage. It would not indeed be difficult to turn into ridicule the extravagant pretenſions of Spain reſpecting the empire of Southern America, and the ideas entertained by her of Britiſh encroachment and uſurpation; but this certainly would be neither politic nor juſt on the part of Great Britain, who advances pretenſions in her own favor at leaſt as chimerical and ridiculous: and if Spain had attempted to form a ſettlement, or to eſtabliſh a garriſon, in any part of the immenſe and frozen regions of Hudſon's Bay, or the diſmal wilds of Labradore, ſtretching to the Arctic Pole, the pride of Great Britain would have been no doubt equally alarmed, and her intereſts ſuppoſed equally endangered. Let us then at leaſt act conſiſtently, and reſpect thoſe rights whether real or imaginary in others which we dare unbluſhingly to claim for ourſelves.

A remarkable bill was introduced into the houſe of commons, and paſſed into an act in the courſe of the preſent ſeſſion, which, by the unanimous and zealous concurrence of all parties in its ſupport, reflected much honor on the houſe. This was a bill for disfranchiſing a very large proportion of the freemen of the borough of New Shoreham, and for extending the right of voting to the contiguous hundreds. It appeared in evidence before the ſelect committee, appointed under the Grenville act to try the merits of the late election for this place, that a great number of the freemen of the borough had formed themſelves into a ſociety under the name of the *chriſtian club.* This chriſtian club was in fact no better than a mart of venality. A *junto* was appointed to diſpoſe of the borough to the higheſt bidder; and after the election was decided, the profits were ſhared equally amongſt the whole. The attorney general was, in conſequence of an addreſs of the houſe to the king, ordered to proſecute the perſons compoſing the junto of this club, and who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves as the peculiar agents of infamy on this occaſion. The nation, angry and diſguſted as they were, could not avoid applauding the ſpirit and conſtitutional tendency of this bill, which ſhewed that the houſe was neither inattentive nor inſenſible to the preſervation of its own dignity or the national honor.

Unfortunately about the ſame time an incident occurred, which revived in an alarming degree the indignation and reſentment of the people againſt their repreſentatives. Though nothing can appear more reaſonable than that the public at large ſhould be furniſhed with all ſuch means of information reſpecting the conduct of their repreſentatives in parliament as may conſiſt with the order and dignity of the houſe, it had been long a ſubject of complaint, that the ſpeeches of the members were, in contempt of the reſolutions of the houſe, regularly printed in the public papers; and ſeveral members of the houſe having formally ſtated that their ſpeeches had been miſrepreſented in the report, although ſuch miſrepreſentation, if of any real importance, might doubtleſs have been eaſily corrected, a motion was made and carried, not indeed unanimouſly, that the printers Wheble and Thompſon ſhould appear to anſwer this complaint at the bar of the houſe. The printers taking no notice of this general ſummons, a ſecond order was iſſued, and declared to be final. No more regard being paid to the ſecond order than to the firſt, a motion was made, that Wheble and Thompſon ſhould be taken into the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms. The minority, who had objected to the original motion, now ſtrongly urged that the preſent irritable temper of the public rendered it very improper for the houſe *to commit itſelf* by engaging in a doubtful and invidious conteſt—that the executive authority of the houſe was reſtrained within very narrow limits—and that the preſent moment was by no means favorable to the full exertion, and much leſs to the extenſion of it. The majority nevertheleſs vehemently inſiſted upon the neceſſity of ſupporting the DIGNITY of the houſe, which, whenever paſſion in any degree influences the determination, is generally ſacrificed by the very means adopted to preſerve it.

In conſequence of information from the ſerjeant at arms that the parties had abſconded, a royal proclamation was iſſued, offering a reward of 50l. for apprehending the two printers. In the mean time ſix other printers were for ſimilar offences ordered to the bar of the houſe, five of whom obeying the ſummons were reprimanded and diſcharged; and the remaining delinquent, Miller, was ordered to be taken into cuſtody for contempt of the houſe. Wheble being apprehended in conſequence of the proclamation, and carried before Mr. Wilkes, recently choſen an alderman of London, he was diſcharged by that magiſtrate, and bound over to proſecute the perſon who apprehended him: and in a letter addreſſed to the earl of Halifax, ſecretary of ſtate, Mr. Wilkes declared, "that Wheble had been apprehended in violation of the rights of an Engliſhman, as well as of the chartered privileges of a citizen of London." Thompſon alſo was apprehended, and diſcharged in the ſame manner. Miller being taken into cuſtody by the meſſenger of the houſe of commons, at his own dwelling, was carried before the lord mayor (Croſby), and the aldermen Wilkes and Oliver, at the manſion houſe. The ſerjeant at arms attending to demand the priſoner, the legality of the warrant was denied, and the printer not only diſcharged, but the meſſenger of the houſe, on pretext of a falſe arreſt, ordered to be committed to priſon in default of bail, which was at firſt refuſed, but at length reluctantly given; and for theſe proceedings the thanks of the corporation of London were immediately voted them.

The houſe of commons now found themſelves once more reduced, by their own raſhneſs and indiſcretion, to a moſt vexatious perplexity; and the oppoſition, who, as members of the houſe, felt for its honor, and participated in the general indignation excited by this unparalleled affront, reminded the miniſters that to them muſt be imputed the odium under which the houſe had fallen with the people, who embraced with eagerneſs every occaſion to mock their power and baffle their meaſures. Theſe reflections admitted of little reply, and the lord mayor and Mr. alderman Oliver, as members of the houſe, were ordered to attend in their places the next day. The lord mayor pleaded, in his juſtification, that he was bound by oath to preſerve the franchiſes of the city, that his conduct had been ſtrictly agreeable to law, and he demanded to be heard by counſel. This was refuſed, on the ground that, no counſel could be heard in oppoſition to the privileges of the houſe; and the lord mayor's book of minutes being called for, the recognizance of Whittam the meſſenger was expunged from the record by order of the houſe; and a reſolution paſſed, that to inſtitute any proceeding at law in this caſe was contrary to the privileges of the houſe; and alſo that it was a breach of privilege to hold the meſſenger to bail for ſuch pretended aſſault. Mr. Oliver was proceeded againſt in a ſimilar manner; and the two magiſtrates reſolutely refuſing to make any conceſſion or apology, it was at length by a very great majority voted that they be committed priſoners to the Tower.

On the laſt day of the attendance of the lord mayor, vaſt multitudes of people aſſembling in the vicinity of Weſtminſter Hall, a violent riot took place, and ſeveral of the miniſterial members were groſsly inſulted—Lord North himſelf being perſonally attacked, and with difficulty reſcued from the fury of the populace. Mr. Wilkes, having received a ſummons to attend at the bar of the houſe, addreſſed a letter to the ſpeaker, in which he declared that he could attend only in his place as member for the county of Middleſex. After ſome fruitleſs repetitions of the order, the houſe, now eagerly deſirous to diſmiſs the buſineſs, ordered a new ſummons for the 8th of April, and at the ſame time wiſely appointed, with much more attention to their ſafety than their DIGNITY, the 9th as the firſt day of meeting after the Eaſter receſs.

The lord mayor and Mr. Oliver ſoon after their commitment applied for a writ of *habeas corpus*, which was accordingly iſſued by the court of common pleas; but after very long and learned pleadings theſe magiſtrates were remanded by the court, and continued in cuſtody till the end of the ſeſſion, when their liberation was celebrated by great and univerſal rejoicings; and from this time forward the proceedings of parliament and the ſpeeches of the members have been publiſhed without interruption or moleſtation. So dangerous is it to bring undefined privileges or prerogatives into conteſt, where a diſpoſition prevails to diſpute all doubtful aſſumptions of authority.

It did not tend to diminiſh the public diſcontents that a bill was brought into parliament at this period, "for enabling certain perſons to encloſe and embank part of the river Thames adjoining Durham Yard, &c. it being conſidered as an invaſion of the property claimed by the city of London in the ſoil or bed of the river. But whatever might be the motives in which this bill originated, or whatever indemnification the city of London might be entitled to expect as proprietors of the ſoil, certain it is that the magnificent and ſtupendous pile of buildings conſtructed in virtue of this act, under the appellation of the *Adelphi*, will remain to future times a noble monument of architectural genius and utility; and will be conſidered as reflecting honor on the reign of George III. when the vaſt ſums expended in ſubſidies, penſions, and extravagant grants to the crown are conſigned to indignation or oblivion.

Soon after the riſing of parliament the city of London preſented another petition and remonſtrance to the king, in which they complain of this bill as a violation of their chartered rights, of the arbitrary impriſonment of their chief magiſtrate, of the enormity of eraſing a judicial record in order to ſtop the courſe of juſtice; and again urge, on theſe accounts, as well as upon the grounds formerly ſtated, the immediate diſſolution of the parliament, and the removal from his majeſty's perſon and councils, for ever, of the preſent wicked and deſpotic miniſters. But this petition, however vehement and intemperate in its language, excited neither alarm nor very peculiar attention. The ſtorm had in a great meaſure ſpent its rage; and, though the waves ſtill fluctuated with apparent violence, the danger of miniſterial ſhipwreck was paſt. The king, in anſwer to this petition, coldly expreſſed his readineſs to redreſs the real grievances of his ſubjects; but he was ſorry to find that a part of them renewed requeſts which he had repeatedly refuſed to comply with.

In the ſpeech from the throne at the termination of the ſeſſion May 8 (1771), his majeſty congratulated the parliament on the proſpect of a permanent continuance of peace, and earneſtly exhorted them to diſcourage and ſuppreſs all groundleſs ſuſpicions and domeſtic diſturbances, in order that the national happineſs might be rendered complete. His majeſty declared, "that he had no *other object*, and could have no other intereſt than to *reign in the hearts* of a free and happy people." Certainly, if this could by an high ſtretch of courtly complaiſance be ſuppoſed "the only object" of his majeſty's reign, it muſt at leaſt be allowed that he had hitherto been peculiarly unfortunate in the choice of thoſe means and miniſters which he had employed in the attainment of it.

During the receſs of parliament died the earl of Halifax, a nobleman generous, liberal, and accompliſhed; but as a miniſter unpopular and unfortunate. He was one of the few whigs who enjoyed any ſhare of court favor during the preſent reign; but tory maxims were unhappily predominant, and his ambition induced him to acquieſce and temporize. Nevertheleſs he filled the high office of lord lieutenant of Ireland, to which he was appointed on the return of the duke of Bedford in 1761, with diſtinguiſhed ability and applauſe. The earl of Suffolk ſucceeded the earl of Halifax as ſecretary of ſtate for the northern department, and the duke of Grafton accepted the vacant poſt of lord privy ſeal.

The ſummer and autumnal months rolled away in a ſort of ſullen languor, and, no circumſtances of a nature peculiarly urgent ariſing, the parliament was not convened till January 21, 1772, when the ſeſſion was opened with a ſpeech from the throne, in which his majeſty confidently announced the continuance of peace from the repeated aſſurances he had received of the amicable diſpoſition of the powers on the continent. It occaſioned therefore great ſurpriſe, when in a few days a demand was made on the part of the adminiſtration for twenty-five thouſand ſeamen to be employed in the ſervice of the current year, under the pretext of the neceſſity of our maintaining a ſuperior force, both in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, to the French, who had lately ſent conſiderable reinforcements to thoſe diſtant quarters. It was ſaid in reply, "that this was in fact a war eſtabliſhment in the midſt of peace—that if ſo great an augmentation was in preſent circumſtances thought neceſſary, it was impoſſible to ſay when it could with propriety be diminiſhed—that the apprehenſion of an attack from France was futile and ridiculous, and that the naval force of that power employed in actual ſervice was totally inadequate to any hoſtile attempt—that the preſent motion would add 500,000l. to the public expence—and that, bending under the weight of an enormous public debt, it behoved us to adopt effectual meaſures for its reduction; inſtead of which our peace eſtabliſhment was every year increaſing, and was now nearly double what it had been at the acceſſion of king George I." Such however was the ineſficacy of theſe arguments, in oppoſition to thoſe urged by the miniſters of the crown, that the motion was carried without a diviſion.

Soon after the meeting of parliament (February 8, 1772) died her royal highneſs Auguſta princeſs dowager of Wales, in the fifty-third year of her age—a princeſs poſſeſſed of many virtues, perſonal and relative, and, till the acceſſion of the preſent ſovereign, greatly beloved and eſteemed by the Engliſh nation: but, in the latter years of her life, it too plainly appeared that the extenſive influence ſhe poſſeſſed over the mind of the king her ſon was exerciſed in a manner very pernicious to the nation. It might appear harſh to doubt the general rectitude of her *intentions*; but unhappily, bred up in the deſpotiſm of German courts, ſhe attained not to juſt ideas of the ſpirit of the Engliſh conſtitution, or the genius of the people, with whom her name became at length the continual theme of reproach and obloquy.

A remarkable bill was about this period introduced into parliament, for "making more effectual proviſion to guard *the deſcendants of the late king*, GEORGE II. from marrying without the approbation of his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, firſt had and obtained." This bill had its origin in the marriage lately contracted by the duke of Cumberland, ſecond brother to the king, with Mrs. Horton, relict of colonel Horton, and daughter of lord Irnham. It had been alſo long univerſally believed that the duke of Glouceſter, elder brother to the king, was privately married to the counteſs of Waldegrave, which marriage the duke now openly avowed. By the proviſions of this new and very extraordinary act, the marriages contracted by the royal family from this time are declared null and void, unleſs the previous approbation of his majeſty be obtained; but in caſe the parties ſhall have attained the age of twenty-five years, and give notice to the privy council of their intention of marriage, ſuch marriage ſhall be held good in law, unleſs the parliament ſhall within the ſpace of twelve months declare its diſapprobation of the ſame.

This bill excited great diſſatisfaction, and it did not paſs without conſiderable difficulty. Two very animated proteſts againſt it, ſigned by eighteen peers, diſplay with great preciſion and energy the reaſons employed in oppoſition to the bill. "*The deſcendants of* GEORGE II." it is affirmed, "may in time comprehend a very numerous deſcription of people; and it would be an intolerable grievance, that the marriage of ſo many ſubjects, diſperſed among the various ranks of civil life, ſhould be ſubject to the reſtraints of this act. It ſeems indecent to the royal family, to ſuppoſe that they arrive later at the age of diſcretion than others, and abſurd to allow them to be capable of governing a kingdom at an age when they are not to be truſted in the choice of a wife.

wiſe. It ſeems," ſay their lordſhips, "to be a mere act of power, having neither the force nor obligation of law, and contrary to the inherent rights of human nature, to diſable a man from contracting marriage, perhaps for life; and it is pregnant with civil diſcord and confuſion, as having a natural tendency at ſome future period to produce a diſputed title to the crown—and all this for ends wholly diſproportionate to ſuch extraordinary efforts, as the main purpoſes of the bill might have been anſwered without creating that perpetuity of reſtraint, which they think themſelves in conſcience bound to oppoſe."

In the courſe of the ſeſſion, a petition was preſented to the houſe of commons of an intereſting nature, and, from the ſingular importance of its object, demanded peculiar attention. This was a petition ſigned by ſome hundreds of the clergy of the eſtabliſhed church, humbly praying to be relieved from the obligation of ſubſcribing the thirty-nine articles of faith as impoſed by law. "Your petitioners," ſay they, "apprehend themſelves to have certain rights and privileges which they hold of God alone—of this kind is the exerciſe of their own reaſon and judgment. They conceive they are alſo warranted, by thoſe original principles of reformation from popery on which the church of England is conſtituted, to judge, in ſearching the ſcriptures, each man for himſelf, what may or may not be proved thereby. They find themſelves, however, in a great meaſure precluded the enjoyment of this invaluable privilege, by the laws relative to ſubſcription, whereby your petitioners are required to acknowledge certain articles and confeſſions of faith and doctrine, drawn up by fallible men, to be all and every one of them agreeable to the ſaid ſcriptures. Your petitioners therefore pray that they may be relieved from ſuch an impoſition upon their judgment, and be reſtored to their undoubted right, as proteſtants, of interpreting ſcripture for themſelves, without being bound by any human explanations thereof—Holy ſcripture alone being acknowledged certain and ſufficient for ſalvation."

vation." And they elſewhere ſtyle the impoſition of ſubſcription "an encroachment on their rights both as men and members of a proteſtant eſtabliſhment."

By this mode of ſtating their complaint, a great advantage in argument was unadviſedly given to the numerous and powerful adverſaries of this petition, the moſt able and intelligent of whom urged, with irreſiſtible force, that all government had a right to form ſuch general plan or ſyſtem of eccleſiaſtical polity or national inſtruction as ſhould approve itſelf moſt conducive to the general good—that it was neceſſary that thoſe who were appointed to be the inſtructors of the people ſhould be bound by ſome certain principles, from which, ſo long as they acted in that capacity, they were not at liberty to deviate—that ſome public ſymbol muſt be therefore eſtabliſhed as the ſtandard of their conformity and union. To toleration in its greateſt and moſt liberal extent theſe objectors declared themſelves the firm friends and advocates; but they ſaid, that the petitioners ſuffered no injuſtice, as they were under no neceſſity of accepting benefices contrary to their conſcience; and if ſcruples aroſe afterwards, they had it always in their power to relinquiſh their preferments—that in fact every man was *now*, conformably to the prayer of the petition, at liberty to interpret the ſcriptures for his own private uſe, but that his being authoriſed to do ſo for others was a matter of a very different nature. The ſtate had doubtleſs a right to judge of the qualifications of thoſe who were inveſted by the governing power of the community with the character, and who received the emoluments annexed to the office, of public teachers of religion. It was alſo ſuggeſted, that this was a matter of deep and dangerous import; and that, as civil diſſenſions had lately run high, it would be moſt impolitic to inflame ſtill farther the public mind, by agitating at this criſis any topic of theological diſputation."

Another and very different claſs of opponents of the old tory and high-church ſtamp, who, conceiving the CHURCH to be in DANGER from this attack, "trembled for the ARK of GOD," ſeemed to repreſent it as little leſs than blaſphemy to propoſe any innovation reſpecting the thirty-nine articles. They ſaid, "that a compliance with this petition would give a mortal wound to the church of England—that the church and ſtate were ſo intimately united, that one could not periſh without the other—that this petition was levelled againſt the articles of the church, and that the next would be for annulling the liturgy. They called to the recollection of the houſe the deſtruction of church and ſtate in the laſt century, which they charged upon the ſectaries, and inſinuated that the petitioners were very ſimilar to them in ſentiment and complexion; they averred, that there was ſtrong ground to ſuſpect, from the licentiouſneſs of ſome recent publications, that ſeveral amongſt them denied the doctrine of the trinity, and the divinity of our ſaviour. They affirmed, that the parliament *could not* grant relief to the petitioners, for it had no power to vacate oaths—that the king could not give his aſſent to this petition, being himſelf bound by oath to preſerve the eſtabliſhed church—and that a compliance with it would be a breach of the treaty of Union, which enacted, 'that the church governments both of England and Scotland ſhould for ever continue as they then were."

The petition itſelf was ſupported with great ability by Sir William Meredith, who preſented it; and by various other members of the higheſt merit, talents, and reputation. Theſe gentlemen maintained, "that to grant the relief ſolicited by the petitioners, far from being detrimental or dangerous to the church, would redound equally to its honor and its ſafety—that the articles of the church were well known to have been compiled at a period when the nation had ſcarcely emerged from the chaos of popery—that they were dark, ſcholaſtic, unintelligible, and in many parts contradictory—that the doctrines contained in them had been long ago diſcarded from the creed of all rational chriſtians, and it was undeniable that very few of the clergy could ſubſcribe them without ſuch ſalvos as would ſcarcely be deemed admiſſible in any other caſe. From this habit of religious prevarication the worſt conſequences might reaſonably be expected, and had in fact ariſen. Nothing indeed could be more contrary to the end of a religious eſtabliſhment, than thus to tempt thoſe from the path of moral rectitude who are appointed to teach morality to others —that ſuch an impoſition upon conſcience was productive of great licentiouſneſs in the church, and, from its tendency to leſſen or entirely to deſtroy chriſtian integrity, had the worſt effects upon its members—that the common pretext for the impoſition of ſubſcription was the preſervation of the unity of the chriſtian faith; but it was notorious that the greateſt poſſible diverſity of ſentiment prevailed in the church, and that the articles in this view were a mere dead letter—that this diverſity of ſentiment on points of ſpeculative theology was however of no importance to the ſtate, which was only intereſted in the inculcating of good morals—that a liturgy being appointed by public authority for public uſe, in which all that is eſſential to chriſtianity is comprehended, no other bond of union or ſtandard of faith is requiſite, and that any reſtraint upon the freedom of enquiry could only generate ignorance or hypocriſy —that an happy opportunity now offered of opening a door for the admiſſion of diſſenters into the church, at which many of them would no doubt enter, and be received into the boſom of the eſtabliſhment, which would by this means be rendered invulnerable to future attack, *if* ſuch an apprehenſion could be *ſeriouſly* entertained; for ſurely the moſt timid and ſuſpicious muſt deem the church in a ſtate of ſecurity, ſo long as it is ſupported by the will of the nation, the wiſdom of the hierarchy, and the power of the legiſlature. That the legiſlature was precluded from granting relief in the preſent inſtance by the treaty of union, they ſhewed to be a futile and ridiculous notion; a ſupreme controlling power was neceſſarily inherent in every legiſlature: no violation of the contract could or would be pretended in conſequence of alterations made in either church by its own expreſs deſire, and by which the members of that church alone were affected. Two inſtances were particularly pointed out, in which the legiſlature, ſince the æra of the union, had exerciſed its eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy:—the firſt of theſe was the act againſt occaſional conformity in England; the ſecond, that which deſtroyed elective patronages in Scotland. Notwithſtanding theſe cogent arguments, the petition was rejected by a vaſt majority, the numbers being on the diviſion, 71 for, and 217 againſt the motion.

Such it muſt be acknowledged is the general tenor of this famous petition, that the main force of its arguments ſeems directed rather againſt eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments as ſuch, than the ſpecific defects of the particular eſtabliſhment of which the petitioners were members. National eſtabliſhments of religion, under any modification, have indeed been regarded by philoſophical writers of great talents and celebrity, as very injurious to the cauſe of truth, and ultimately therefore of virtue and of happineſs, by erecting a barrier in the way of free enquiry, by fixing, as far as they have influence, a ſtandard of public opinion, and by making religion a mere inſtrument and engine of government. To this it may be ſatisfactorily anſwered, that one of the firſt and moſt important cares of government reſpects the manners and morals of the community at large—that to prevent vice is far more beneficial than to puniſh it: but the morals of the commuity cannot be preſerved in any tolerable degree of purity without the aſſiſtance of religion—hence the utility and neceſſity of an eſtabliſhment. But as rectitude of morals is the only rational object which the ſtate can have in view in forming an ec-

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cleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, it is evident that the introduction of theological and metaphyſical polemics is totally foreign to the purpoſe; and that a clear and ſimple ſyſtem, which enforces the obligations of morality by the great and obvious ſanctions of religion, is all that good ſenſe and good policy require*.

Moſt happily adapted to this end is the chriſtian religion, as exhibited in the beautiful and ſublime compoſition of the liturgy, were certain ſuperfluities and redundancies removed, ſuch as the brighteſt ornaments of the national church have ardently wiſhed her public ritual "well rid of." As the eſtabliſhment is intended for the benefit of all, the baſis ſhould be as extenſive as the nature and object of it will admit; but the Articles contain a maſs of matter comprehending a

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* As to the objections urged by writers of another claſs, bewildered in the mazes of ſpeculative theology, againſt eſtabliſhments as inconſiſtent with the allegiance due to CHRIST as ſupreme head of the church, as infringements upon his authority, and ſubverſive of his prerogative, they are of a nature too wild and eccentric to merit any conſiderable attention. The proper and direct anſwer to all arguments of this kind is, that a proteſtant national eſtabliſhment is a mere human or civil inſtitution, inveſted with certain privileges and immunities by the ſtate, for the purpoſe of inculcating the knowledge of certain moral and religious truths of great and univerſal importance. Pretenſions indeed highly extravagant have been advanced on the part of the clergy, and even of the proteſtant clergy, of a divine and independent juriſdiction, of uninterrupted apoſtolical ſucceſſion, of the power of abſolution, of authority over the faith, the lives, and the conſciences of men; but theſe monſtrous claims, the gigantic phantoms of intellectual darkneſs, have vaniſhed as the ſun of reaſon roſe. One bold and arrogant champion of the prieſthood alone dares in theſe times ſtill to aſſert, that the laity are bound to receive with ſubmiſſion the deciſions of the clergy, who, in matters of religion, are AUTHORISED to interpret and declare the SENSE OF SCRIPTURE†. This is language calculated to render the very name of *prieſt* odious in the ears of every man of ſenſe and liberality, were not the name and honor of the clerical profeſſion happily redeemed by the WATSONS, the PALEYS, and the PECKARDS of the age. At the time the petition of the clergy was pending in parliament, Dr. Jebb, a man of diſtinguiſhed talents in the univerſity of Cambridge, preached a memorable ſermon at St. Mary's Church, upon the ſubject of ſubſcription, on the words of St. Peter, ACTS xv. 10. *Now, therefore, why tempt ye God to put a yoke upon the neck of the diſciples which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear?* "When metaphyſical refinements, when ſcholaſtic differences and diſtinctions enter into the contexture of national confeſſions, to contend," ſays this truly proteſtant divine, "for the impoſition of them for the purpoſe of avoiding diverſities of opinion, and of eſtabliſhing conſent touching true religion, would be to inſult the common ſenſe and reaſon of mankind. In yielding implicit ſubmiſſion to ſuch human formularies, an aſpirant to the miniſtry reſigns the exerciſe of his underſtanding, and the deductions of his better judgment, to an authority not leſs deſpotic than the antichriſtian power of ROME."

† Vide biſhop Horſley's CHARGE to the clergy of the dioceſe of St. David's,

multiplicity of obſcure and complex propoſitions, upon the truth or falſehood of which it is not at all reaſonable, but on the contrary moſt abſurd, to expect a youth of common capacity and attainments at his entrance into the church to be qualified to decide. It muſt be confeſſed that the petition in queſtion bore ſtrong marks of crudeneſs and precipitation. It cannot be doubted but that a very great majority of the moſt intelligent and reſpectable of the clergy ſecretly joined in the prayer of the petition; and if the tone of its allegations had been lowered, if judicious meaſures had been adopted to conciliate the minds of the ſuperior clergy, if ſufficient time had been taken to mature and digeſt the plan of the application, and a period choſen more favorable to its ſucceſs, it could ſcarcely have failed to have been attended with conſiderable effect; but no prudential precautions being taken to give weight and reſpectability to this application, it bore in the view of the public at large the appearance of a raſh and abortive attempt.

In the courſe of the debate which took place on this petition, it was repeatedly and unreſervedly declared by the moſt reſpectable of its opponents, that though they could not conſent to alter the terms of admiſſion into the eſtabliſhed church, the caſe was very different with reſpect to the diſſenting clergy, who were entitled to the benefits of the act of toleration only on the hard and abſurd condition of ſubſcribing to the articles of the eſtabliſhed church—thoſe relative to eccleſiaſtical diſcipline only excepted. It is true, indeed, that at the time the act of toleration paſſed, the diſſenting clergy, being univerſally calviniſts, made no difficulty of ſubſcribing to the doctrinal articles of the church of England; but, in the long ſucceſſion of years which had elapſed ſince that period, a great proportion of them had embraced ſentiments in theology very different from the ſyſtem of their forefathers. The act of toleration, therefore, was no act of toleration to them. Others alſo had adopted a novel refinement in religion, that it was unlawful to ſubſcribe any human declaration or formulary of faith, howevever conſonant to truth, *at the requiſition of the civil magiſtrate*, as being a tacit admiſſion of his authority to impoſe it. This notion, however falſe or fanciful, as effectually precluded them from the benefits of the toleration as if they had actually rejected every article of the national creed. It is no wonder therefore that the diſſenting miniſters eagerly embraced ſo favorable and inviting an opportunity of obtaining a redreſs of this great grievance.

On a motion ſubſequently made by Sir George Savile, member for the county of York, a man eminent in every ſpecies of excellence by which human nature can be adorned or dignified, and ſeconded by Sir Henry Houghton, leave was given to bring in a bill for that purpoſe. The bill itſelf was received by the houſe with great approbation, and even applauſe. Many of thoſe who contended moſt ſtrenuouſly againſt granting relief to the clergy, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the ardor with which they ſupported a claim thus reſpectfully ſubmitted to the legiſlature; and ſo evidently founded on the cleareſt principles of equity and juſtice, that it might have appeared previouſly difficult to conjecture by what ſort of arguments it could poſſibly be oppoſed. But there is perhaps no cauſe however wretched, no poſition however abſurd and pernicious, in vindication of which the wit of man is not able to deviſe ſomething ſpecious and plauſible. In the preſent caſe it was affirmed by the zealous Tories and high-churchmen in the houſe, that a total exemption from ſubſcription would open the door for ſuch an inundation of enthuſiaſm, abſurdity, and extravagance into the chriſtian church, as would equally deface and deform it—that when this reſtraint was removed, arians, ſocinians, deiſts, and profane ſcoffers of all denominations, would not heſitate from the pulpit to undermine, ridicule, and attack the principles of the chriſtian religion, and perhaps even to deny the divinity of its author. They ſaid, that however reſpectable the diſſenters might be repreſented by the advocates of this bill, the members of the eſtabliſhment were certainly not leſs ſo; and being far more numerous, their intereſts ought to be taken into conſideration as claiming the prior and ſuperior regard of the legiſlature. This they ſaid was an act not ſo much for the relief as the encouragement of the diſſenters, and it had a direct tendency to weaken and deſtroy the church of England by the countenance it gave to a republican religion, which had been at all times the ſworn foe to monarchy. It was farther ſaid that the act of toleration was intended only for the relief of thoſe who agreed with the church in thirty-five articles and a half, which contained the eſſentials of her faith; and that thoſe who now apply for relief are a new deſcription of men, not in the contemplation of the framers of the act, and unknown to the law. They aſſerted, that though by their refuſal to comply with the terms preſcribed by the act they had become obnoxious to puniſhment, yet that the penal laws exiſted only *in terrorem*, and were rarely enforced—that the lenity of the executive power made the propoſed relief wholly unneceſſary, for it was well known that a great majority of the perſons for whom this relief was intended live in eaſe and ſecurity under this connivance. Why then trouble the legiſlature with their complaints? or expect the government not merely to excuſe but to juſtify their neglects and omiſſions, and to authoriſe their breach of one law by paſſing another, in order to ſecure to them impunity in reward of their perverſeneſs and temerity?

There are perſons whoſe underſtandings are naturally ſo obtuſe, or, what is ſtill worſe, whoſe reaſoning faculties are ſo darkened by the prevalence of paſſion and the habitual force of prejudice, that arguments, however demonſtrative, make as little impreſſion upon their minds, as the beams of the meridian ſun on the eternal ſnows that invelop the pole. In vain was it urged, in oppoſition to this claſs of men, on the preſent occaſion, "That it was no longer a ſpeculative queſtion, whether toleration was a principle beneficial or injurious to the community;—the experiment had been actually made, and it had been attended with the happieſt ſucceſs. No ſuch hardſhip, as was now ſuffered by the perſons whom this bill was framed to relieve, was intended by the act of toleration, which required nothing more to the participation of its advantages, than the parties concerned were at the time perfectly willing to comply with. But the fact was, that by a gradual and unforeſeen change of circumſtances the operation of the act was weakened and impeded: but it could not be pretended that the principle, which under the reign of king William rendered it juſt and beneficial to tolerate, had ſuffered any change. The diverſity of theological creeds was of no importance to the ſtate; and the SPIRIT of the ACT of TOLERATION plainly required, that the protection of the ſtate ſhould be extended to all its members, whatever might be their religious opinions, ſo long as they fulfilled all the duties of good citizens and ſubjects—That the very idea of toleration *implied* difference of opinion; and to profeſs to tolerate thoſe only who believe as we believe, is farcical and ridiculous—That the intereſts of the church itſelf were advanced by toleration; for experience ſufficiently evinced, that religious ſects flouriſhed under every ſpecies of perſecution which ſtopped ſhort of abſolute extermination—That as to the miſchiefs ſo much deplored and ſo terrifically deſcribed as the conſequence of the removal of all reſtraint, the examples of Ireland and Scotland, where no ſuch condition was annexed to toleration, not to advert to the examples of Holland or Switzerland, ſhewed how weak and groundleſs were ſuch terrors—That truth wanted not the ſanction of penal laws; but if nevertheleſs truths ſuppoſed eſſential to chriſtianity were attacked, there were laws in exiſtence to which thoſe who were of opinion that chriſtianity ought to be ſo defended might have recourſe. To all that had been advanced reſpecting the lenity of the executive government, and the connivance of the ſtate, it was enough to reply, that the application now made was not a petition for favor or indulgence, but it was an appeal to the equity and juſtice of the ſtate;—that it could not be refuſed without violating thoſe inherent and unalienable rights over which no human power had cognizance or juriſdiction;—that theſe rights were too ſacred to be held at the caprice of a court, or the diſcretion of a judge;—that the penal laws, though dormant, might be at any time awakened into action by the malice, the avarice, or the revenge of individuals;—that were the *lenity* of the executive government ſuch as had been repreſented, it would doubtleſs be eager to embrace ſo favourable an opportunity of eſtabliſhing, by law, what it had hitherto been unable to confer otherwiſe than as a grace;—that the lenity of the ruling powers was the very reaſon for bringing forward this claim, for it would certainly be fruitleſs and abſurd to apply for relief and ſecurity when an inimical diſpoſition on the part of government was previouſly known to exiſt. If nothing of real perſecution is intended, why ſuſpend the ſword by a ſingle hair over their heads?—As to the charge of republicaniſm, as alleged againſt the diſſenters, it was declared to be equally futile and unjuſt. The original oppoſition to the meaſures of the court in the reign of Charles I. was highly laudable;—and the unjuſtifiable lengths to which that oppoſition was carried, were to be aſcribed to the military and deſpotic violence of comparatively a few individuals. The anceſtors of the preſent race of diſſenters had a diſtinguiſhed ſhare in the reſtoration of king Charles II.; and the uniform tenor of their conduct ſince the æra of the revolution plainly proved them to be as loyal and obedient to juſt princes, who made the law the rule of their government—as they had been firm and reſolute in their oppoſition to tyrants, who aimed at the ſubverſion of the conſtitution. Not to mention the abſurdity and injuſtice of puniſhing any claſs or deſcription of men now exiſting for the ſuppoſed crimes and errors of a former generation, who had been more than a century in their graves."

A vaſt majority of the houſe, penetrated with the force of theſe reaſonings, and pleaſed with an occaſion to diſplay their attachment to the principles of *whiggiſm*, from which they had been charged with a diſpoſition to depart, paſſed the bill with the full concurrence of the miniſter, almoſt by acclamation; but when it was carried up to the peers, it met with a very different reception—and the bed-chamber lords, the "king's Friends," and the BISHOPS, marſhalled in one formidable phalanx, concurred in its rejection; the non-contents on the diviſion being no leſs than 102 againſt 29 peers who ſupported the motion.

As this bill had been highly and generally applauded in the houſe of commons, and was apparently well approved by the nation at large, the ill ſucceſs which finally attended it could only be aſcribed to the predominance of that ſecret and fatal influence ſo frequently alluded to, which ſeemed obſtinately bent to thwart every meaſure emanating from a juſt, wiſe, and beneficent policy. So that on this, as on other occaſions, a ſtranger to the manifold virtues and excellencies of the SOVEREIGN might have been pardoned for *ſuppoſing* the throne filled by ſome ſullen and malignant bigot, abſolutely ignorant of the firſt principles of civil and religious liberty, or to whom thoſe principles appeared odious and deteſtable.

In the royal ſpeech at the cloſe of the ſeſſion, which terminated June 9, 1772, his majeſty, in the cuſtomary ſtrain, exhorted the members of both houſes to cultivate and improve a ſpirit of harmony and *confidence* amongſt all ranks of men, and to make it their conſtant care to inculcate a cheerful acquieſcence to juſt authority. This is no doubt an highly uſeful and important leſſon; but in order to ſecure that ready and cheerful acquieſcence ariſing by juſt gradations into *confidence* and affection, it is no leſs neceſſary that rulers and governors ſhould ſhew themſelves diſpoſed to exerciſe their authority with mildneſs, with equity, with moderation. A truly patriot prince will ſuffer no private or perſonal conſiderations to divert his attention from the great and ſole object of government, *the general welfare:* and he will be ſenſible that the honor and dignity of government are far more effectually ſuſtained by a magnanimous neglect of unmerited reflections and reproaches, which no might nor greatneſs in mortality can hope to eſcape, than by indulging a paſſionate and inceſſant ſolicitude to puniſh or avenge them.

The extreme unpopularity which had invariably attended the meaſures of the court under the ſucceſſive adminiſtrations of the preſent reign, that of Lord Rockingham only excepted, at length began to ſuffer a ſenſible abatement. The new miniſter, lord North, notwithſtanding ſome falſe ſteps, evidently gained upon the nation, by the ſuavity of his manners, and his apparent candor and ingenuouſneſs of diſpoſition. The late rupture with Spain, in the view of the public, who were not apprized of the ſecret article of reſtitution, had terminated honorably for England. Notwithſtanding the great expence attending the armament of the laſt year, progreſs had been made in the reduction of the national debt; and the repeal of the oppreſſive port-duties, though with one unfortunate exception, ſhewed at leaſt ſome inclination to accommodate the diſputes ſo long ſubſiſting with America. This was farther confirmed by the reſignation at this period of the earl of Hillſborough, ſecretary of ſtate for America, who was on various accounts very obnoxious to the colonies; and the ſubſequent appointment of the earl of Dartmouth, a nobleman of acknowledged probity, of a mild and lenient temper, and who had uniformly oppoſed in parliament American taxation in every form. Various other changes and promotions alſo took place during the receſs of parliament. The earl Harcourt ſucceeded lord Townſhend as lord lieutenant of Ireland, and lord Stormont was appointed ambaſſador at the court of Verſailles in the room of lord Harcourt. Mr. Charles Jenkinſon being nominated vice-treaſurer of Ireland, his ſeat at the board of treaſury was filled by the honorable Charles James Fox, ſecond ſon of lord Holland, a young man who had already arreſted the attention of the public by the extent of his political knowledge, and the ſplendor of his parliamentary talents. This appeared the more extraordinary, as it was known that he indulged without reſerve in all the faſhionable levities and diſſipations incident to his age and ſtation. It ought, however, at the ſame time to be remarked, that he ſtopped ſhort of thoſe vices which eſſentially debaſe and contaminate the moral character, and which are equally incompatible with preſent eſteem or future hope. For though diſſipation borders upon the region of moral depravity, and too often terminates in it, there is a real and very important difference between them. A youth of high ſpirit and elevated rank, endowed with lively ſenſibilities, and poſſeſſing all the advantages which nature and fortune can beſtow, may be conſidered, on his firſt entrance into life, as placed in a ſcene of abſolute enchantment. Pleaſure preſents herſelf in a thouſand forms, and, in the ardor and effervefcence of paſſion, no other object is perceived for which exiſtence is deſirable. At length the faſcination diſſolves, and it will be indeed fortunate if he is then able to transfer his regards to thoſe ſuperior purſuits which are calculated to give full ſcope to the intellectual and rational faculties. In the higher walks of life, when the concomitant temptations are ſurmounted, and advantages improved, are the higheſt and moſt accompliſhed characters formed: and in juſtice to Mr. Fox it muſt be acknowledged, that he has greatly redeemed the errors of his youth by the attainments of his maturer years, and by devoting his unrivalled talents almoſt excluſively to the noble and tranſcendent purpoſe of advancing, by the moſt unwearied and unremitting exertions, the peace, welfare, and happineſs of mankind.

On the 26th of November 1772, the ſeſſion was opened by an intereſting ſpeech from the throne, in which "the attention of parliament was particularly called to the preſent ſtate of the Eaſt India company, and the difficulties in which they appeared to be involved; and his majeſty recommended making ſuch proviſions for the common benefit and ſecurity of all the various intereſts concerned, as they ſhould find beſt adapted to the exigencies of the caſe." Little certainly could it have been imagined, that in the ſhort interval which had elapſed ſince the acquiſition of the *Dewannee* of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, by which the company appeared to be elevated to the height of proſperity, they ſhould be reduced to a ſtate of embarraſſment and diſtreſs verging upon ruin. A general, however tranſient review of the tranſactions of the company, commercial and political, from that memorable period, is neceſſary to the explanation of this paradox. No ſooner had the preſidency of Calcutta obtained, in the mode already related, the government of thoſe vaſt and opulent territories, than agrand project was formed by the preſident, lord Clive, and unanimouſly approved by the board; agreeably to which, the members of the council, and other civil and military ſervants of the company, might be enabled to derive vaſt emoluments, not only without prejudice to their principals, but with great advantage to the company's revenue. This was no other than the eſtabliſhment of a commercial aſſociation, for the purpoſe of carrying on an *inland traffic* in the important articles of ſalt, betel nut, and tobacco. Theſe are articles of general conſumption in India, and conſidered as amongſt the abſolute neceſſaries of life; and they had under the antient government been ſubject to the trifling duty of the fortieth penny. But in order to obtain the ſanction of the company to the commercial ſyſtem now eſtabliſhed, a duty of thirty-five per cent. was impoſed on ſalt, which, with fifteen per cent. on betel nut, and twenty-five per cent. on tobacco, produced an annual additional revenue of 160,000l. to the company. This however was regarded by the natives as a trivial grievance, in compariſon of the mode in which the traffic was conducted: for the ſervants of the company acting

ing at once in the two-fold capacity of merchants and ſovereigns, "in order," as they expreſſed themſelves "to aſſiſt this infant branch of commerce," the council decreed to the aſſociation, i. e. to themſelves and their co-partners, "the free and excluſive purchaſe and ſale," or, in other words, the complete monopoly of the above articles; and their governing rule of trade appears invariably to have been to reduce to the loweſt extreme of depreſſion the price in the purchaſe, and to enhance it in the ſame extravagant proportion in the ſale. When this plan was communicated to the directors, they expreſſed much diſpleaſure that ſuch extortion ſhould be practiſed under their authority. "We leave," ſay they to the council, "the *adjuſtment of the duties* on theſe commodities to your judgment and conſideration;—but we think the vaſt fortunes acquired by the *inland trade* have been obtained by a ſcene of the moſt oppreſſive and tyrannic conduct ever known in any age or country. Were we to allow it, we ſhould conſider ourſelves as aſſenting and ſubſcribing to all the miſchiefs which Bengal has preſented to us for four years paſt." They approved therefore the oppreſſion of the natives *ſo far* as they themſelves were benefited by it, *and no farther.* But theſe feeble and inconſiſtent remonſtrances were little regarded.

Another device or project of legal plunder was, to declare void at once, to the inexpreſſible conſternation of the zemindars and polygars, who conſtitute the great landed intereſt of the country, all the leaſes held by them under the government, on very low and beneficial terms, by a kind of feudal tenure. The pretext for this was, that many of theſe leaſes had been colluſively obtained; and it was ſaid, that impartiality required that they ſhould be now relet without diſtinction to the higheſt bidder. By this enormous act of deſpotiſm, many individuals of very elevated ſituations in life were entirely ruined, immenſe fortunes were made by the favored few, and the landed revenue of the company after all was acknowledged to be very little improved. Notwithſtanding, indeed, every expedient that could be put in practice for the accumulation of wealth, the aggregate receipts of the company's treaſury alarmingly decreaſed: the natives, reduced to poverty and almoſt deſpair by perpetual exactions, could no longer purchaſe their favorite articles at the extravagant prices demanded by the monopoliſts. Thoſe that cultivated the ſoil, planted in doubt, and reaped in uncertainty. A large proportion of land was left untilled, and a general ſcarcity of proviſions, particularly of rice, the great ſtaple of Indian ſuſtenance, unavoidably enſued. It was poſſible to exiſt without betel nut and tobacco, but not without their daily food. The commercial monopoliſts ſeized with avidity the opportunity of collecting the rice into ſtores. As the Gentoos would in no extremity violate the precepts of their religion by eating fleſh, they had no other alternative than to part with the remains of their property, or die with hunger.

The people being in a ſhort time reduced to a wretched ſubſiſtence on unwholeſome and unaccuſtomed roots, a dreadful ſickneſs and mortality enſued. In ſome diſtricts, the living ſcarcely ſufficed to bury the dead; and peſtilence and famine in horrid combination deſolated the land. The waters of the Ganges were infected by the multitude of carcaſſes caſt into the river; whilſt flights of vultures and other birds of prey, attracted in aſtoniſhing numbers by the putreſcent effluvia, completed the ſhocking and terrific picture.

Striking, indeed, is the contraſt between the ſituation of the country at this period, and that which we are told it enjoyed in the happy times of the Mogul government. The kingdom of Bengal, during a long period of peaceful repoſe, is deſcribed as exhibiting the moſt charming and pictureſque ſcenery—" opening into extenſive glades, covered with a fine turf, and interſperſed with woods filled with a variety of birds of beautiful colors; amongſt others, peacocks in abundance, ſitting on the very horizontal branches, diſplayed their dazzling plumes to the ſun; the Ganges winding its mighty waters through the adjacent plains, adding to the proſpect inexpreſſible grandeur; while the artiſt at his loom, under the immenſe ſhade of the banyan tree, ſoftened his labor by the tender ſtrains of muſic."—In the calamitous circumſtances to which this country was now reduced through oppreſſions, the retroſpective view of which takes away all boaſting from the name of Engliſhmen, it will not be deemed wonderful, eſpecially when the great increaſe of the civil and military eſtabliſhments of the three provinces is alſo taken into the account, that the diſburſements of the company ſhould far exceed the amount of their revenues.

Impelled by urgent demands and empty coffers, the council heſitated not to write to Mr. Beecher, reſident at the *Durbar:* "In conjunctures like this, neceſſity compels us to make the conveniences of *dependents*, and even *the letter of engagements*, ſubſervient to the exigencies of the ſtate.—It would be a ridiculous and unprecedented maxim to regard any tribute or ſtipend before the ſupport of our own government. They therefore decree, that the ſum of thirty-four lacks of rupees, *at the leaſt*, ſhall be deducted from the tribute to the emperor, the allowance to the nabob, and other contingencies." The pecuniary embarraſſments of the company were exceedingly increaſed by a war of folly and ambition, in which they were at this period involved on the coaſt of Coromandel with the famous Hyder Ally, a powerful prince, who, from very low and obſcure beginnings, had eſtabliſhed a great empire in the ſouthern parts of the continent. The ſubah, or, as he is more generally ſtyled, the nizam of the Decan, a potentate of high rank in India, and whoſe territories bordered upon thoſe of the company, had entered into an alliance with Hyder; but the united forces of the Indian princes were defeated with great loſs by colonel Smith, near Trincomalee, September 26, 1767; after which the nizam made a ſeparate peace with the Engliſh, yielding up to them a conſiderable territory called the Balagat Carnatic. But the war with Hyder, who had retired to the interior and mountainous parts of his dominions, was carried on without advantage, and at a ruinous expence. At length, by a ſeries of ſkilful manœuvres and rapid movements, he contrived to leave the Engliſh army ſeveral days march in the rear; and, after ravaging the dominions of the Nabob of Arcot, the antient and faithful ally of the company, he ſuddenly appeared in force at the gates of Madras. The preſidency now thought proper to enter into a negotiation for peace, propoſing a truce of fifty days for that purpoſe; but Hyder would grant a ceſſation of arms for ſeven days only, in which ſpace articles of accommodation were ſigned April 1769, and the conqueſts on both ſides reciprocally reſtored.

Alarmed at the novel and dangerous ſituation of affairs in India, which had prodigiouſly ſunk the value of the company's ſtock in England, the proprietary, previous to the knowledge of this event, had determined to ſend out a committee of ſupervision to Bengal, with full authority to examine into and rectify the concerns of every department, and veſted with an abſolute power of control over all the ſervants of the company in India. Mr. Vanſittart, Mr. Scrafton, and Mr. Ford, were nominated ſupervisors, and ſailed from England, in the Aurora frigate, September 1769; but, by ſome unknown and fatal miſchance, this ſhip never arrived at the place of her deſtination. When it could no longer be doubted that the gentlemen appointed to this high commiſſion were irretrievably loſt, it was reſolved by the company to nominate new commiſſioners; and ſix gentlemen, during the ſummer receſs of the year 1772, were actually choſen for this purpoſe. But it being certain that parliament would be convened at an early period, with the expreſs view of entering into a full diſcuſſion of the affairs of India, it was not deemed adviſable, in the preſent perilous ſituation of the company, and its abſolute inability to diſcharge their public engagements, to carry ſo important a reſolve into execution till the ſanction of the legiſlature could be obtained.

A bill had, late in the preceding ſeſſion, been introduced under the patronage of the company itſelf, for the better regulation of the government and commerce of India; and it was without heſitation acknowledged, that the powers actually veſted in the company were totally inſufficient for the prevention of the groſſeſt abuſes and mal-adminiſtration. It was on the other hand urged, that to paſs a bill for the redreſs of any grievances without ſome prior proof that the grievance exiſted, was unparliamentary. It was ſaid, that the grievance might lie too deep to be remedied by the propoſed bill; and the partiſans of the court did not fail to intimate, that the conſtitution of the company rendered them wholly unfit for the purpoſe of exerciſing any degree of political authority, and that an accurate inveſtigation would demonſtrate the neceſſity that government ſhould take the whole under its immediate juriſdiction. After the ſecond reading, therefore, the bill was thrown aſide: and in the room of it, a ſelect committee, conſiſting of thirty-one perſons, was choſen by ballot to enquire into the ſtate of the Eaſt India company. The committee continued their ſittings during the ſummer, and it was revived early in the next ſeſſion. But this appointment, not originating with the miniſter, was regarded by him with little ſatisfaction; and as ſoon as parliament aſſembled, lord North moved for another committee, under the name of the committee of ſecrecy, to conſiſt of thirteen perſons, to be alſo choſen by ballot, for taking into conſideration the ſtate of the company's affairs, which, his lordſhip obſerved, might by this means undergo a full inveſtigation, without any unneceſſary expoſure of them to the world. It was alſo ſaid, that theſe different committees would operate as a check upon each other, and that between them the houſe would obtain every requiſite degree of information upon the whole buſineſs. On the other hand it was alleged, that the motion for a ſecret committee was unconſtitutional.

tional, and a mode practiſed only when criminal charges were made;—that the very name of a ſecret committee was ominous, and carried with it the idea of an arbitrary and inquiſitorial tribunal;—that by a fair and open inveſtigation in a committee of the whole houſe, a clear view of the company's affairs would be obtained, and an adequate remedy for all the exiſting evils provided; but by this narrow partial enquiry of a cabal, they could obtain no information but what the members of it thought fit to communicate, ſo that they might in effect be degraded into the dupes of a miniſterial junto.

Notwithſtanding this oppoſition, the motion of the miniſter paſſed without a diviſion; and in a very ſhort time, a report was preſented by the committee, ſtating, that, although the company were reduced to great pecuniary diſtreſs, they were preparing to ſend out an expenſive commiſſion of ſupervision to India; and recommending that a bill be brought in to reſtrain the company for a limited time from ſending out ſuch commiſſion of ſupervisors. A bill was immediately ordered in for this purpoſe: and though a petition was preſented againſt it from the company, and counſel heard in their behalf, it paſſed by a majority of 153 againſt 28.

From the different examinations which took place at the bar of the houſe on this occaſion, it appeared in evidence, That the annual expenditure of the civil and military eſtabliſhments in Bengal had ariſen, ſince the year 1765, from ſeven hundred thouſand pounds to one million ſeven hundred thouſand pounds: That including the four hundred thouſand pounds paid by the company in conſequence of the agreement made in 1767, the whole ſum received by government, in cuſtoms and duties, &c. from the company, at an average calculation of the laſt five years, amounted to little leſs than two millions: That, during the ſame term, the dividends of the company amounted not in the aggregate to one million above the rate of ſix per cent. upon their capital, which was the loweſt trading dividend that had been ever made during the moſt expenſive and dangerous war. It appeared, that the mercantile profits of the company, during this period, amounted on the average to four hundred and ſixty-four thouſand pounds annually, which would have afforded a dividend of twelve and a half per cent. So that this ſtriking and memorable truth was fully eſtabliſhed, that the company, ſo far from deriving any advantage from the poſſeſſion of her immenſe territories, acquired by means the moſt violent and unjuſt, was in fact a loſer in an exact proportion to the difference between the low dividends, actually made, and the high dividends which their mercantile profits, unincumbered by their territorial dominion, would have ſecured to them. So true is it that honeſty is uſually found to be the beſt policy. And, notwithſtanding the reduction of thier dividends, which, elated as they had been by their fancied proſperity, was a ſource of bitter chagrin to the proprietors, they now found themſelves in a ſtate of the moſt mortifying humiliation, utterly unable to fulfil the engagements they had contracted, their reſources exhauſted, their expenditures increaſing, and their very exiſtence depending upon the will and pleaſure of a ſuperior power, of whom they were at the ſame time compelled to ſolicit the favors, and ſuſtain the injuries.

Previous to the laſt reading of this bill, a ſecond report was preſented by the ſecret committee, containing a ſtatement of the debts, credits, and effects of the company, both at home and abroad, by which the finances of the company appeared to be dreadfully deranged.

During the receſs of parliament, the company, with an empty treaſury at home, had accepted bills from Bengal to a vaſt amount, and which were now coming round in a courſe of payment. They were at the ſame time deeply in debt to the bank for caſh borrowed, to the cuſtom houſe for duties unpaid, and to the exchequer for the arrear of the annual ſtipulated payment of four hundred thouſand pounds. The directors were therefore under the neceſſity of entering into a negotiation with government for a loan, which might ſerve at leaſt as a temporary relief. The miniſter received their application with a cold and haughty reſerve, and referred them to parliament for ſatisfaction; and thus, without poſſibility of remedy, they found themſelves at the mercy of thoſe, by whom they had, as they well knew, long been viewed with hoſtile and jealous eyes. The reſtraining bill paſſed both houſes previous to the chriſtmas adjournment; ſoon after which, a petition was preſented from the Eaſt India Company, containing a requiſition for a loan of one million five hundred thouſand pounds for four years, at four per cent. to be repaid by inſtalments, on condition that the dividends of the company ſhould not exceed ſix per cent. until the loan was reduced to ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand pounds; after which it ſhould be lawful to divide eight per cent.; and after the whole loan was diſcharged, the ſurplus of the company's nett profits above the ſaid dividend ſhould be appropriated to the payment of the company's bond debt until it was reduced to one million five hundred thouſand pounds; and from thence, that the ſurplus profits ſhould be equally divided between the public and the company. The petitioners farther engaged that the account of the company's revenues, ſales, debts, &c. ſhould be annually laid before parliament; and they humbly requeſted to be diſcharged from the payment of the four hundred thouſand pounds for the remainder of the five years ſpecified in the act of 1769, and that leave might be given to export TEAS, free of all duty, to America, and to foreign ports.

This petition being read, lord North roſe and obſerved, that the granting relief to the company was a matter of obvious policy and expediency, but in no degree a claim of right or of juſtice: that, though he waved for the preſent the particular diſcuſſion of the company's claim of excluſive right to its territorial poſſeſſions, he was upon high authority ſatisfied of the exiſtence of a prior right in the ſtate; it being an axiom in politics, that ſuch territorial poſſeſſions, as the ſubjects of any ſtate ſhall acquire by conqueſt, are virtually the property of the ſtate, and not of thoſe individuals who acquire them. He therefore inferred the juſtice and legality of the diſcretionary interpoſition of the ſtate in all caſes reſpecting the affairs of the company. He concluded with moving, "That it is the opinion of this houſe, that the affairs of the Eaſt India Company are in ſuch a ſtate as to require parliamentary aſſiſtance;—that a loan of one million four hundred thouſand pounds be granted to the company, provided that due precautions ſhall be adopted to prevent the company's experiencing the like exigencies in future."

After an interval of ſome days, the miniſter again moved, "That the company's dividend ſhould be reſtricted to ſix per cent. until the repayment of the ſum advanced, and that the company be allowed to divide no more than ſeven per cent. until their bond debt be reduced to one million five hundred thouſand pounds." Laſtly, he moved, "That it is the opinion of this houſe, that it will be more beneficial to the public, and to the Eaſt India company, to *let* the territorial acquiſitions remain in the poſſeſſion of the company for a limited time not to exceed the term of ſix years, the charter of the company expiring about that period: That no participation of profits ſhall take place between the public and the company until after the repayment of the one million four hundred thouſand pounds advanced to the company, and the reduction of the company's bond debt to one million five hundred thouſand pounds: That after the payment of the loan, and the ſpecified reduction of the bond debt, *three*-fourths of the nett ſurplus profits of the company above the ſum of eight per cent. upon their capital ſtock, ſhall be paid into the exchequer for the uſe of the public; and the remaining one-fourth ſhall be ſet apart, either for farther reducing the company's bond debt, or for compoſing a fund for the diſcharge

charge of any contingent exigencies the company may labor under. In fine, that, as the company had in their warehouſes a ſtock of teas amounting to above ſeventeen millions of pounds, which it would be greatly to their advantage to convert into money, they ſhould be allowed to export any quantities of it duty free.

Such were the ſevere terms annexed by parliament to the relief ſolicited by the company, and ſo ſoon were the fatal effects diſcernible of the new ſyſtem of ambition and aggrandiſement embraced by theſe royal *merchant adventurers.* So ſtrong nevertheleſs at this period was the indignation of the public againſt the enormous oppreſſions committed under their name, rather than by their authority, that little compaſſion or ſympathy was excited by the loudneſs of their exclamations and complaints in this day of their humiliation and diſtreſs. Nor was it ſufficiently adverted to, that the government, by appropriating to itſelf ſo large a proportion of the profits and revenus of the company, became in fact a participant and accomplice in the general ſyſtem of extortion and oppreſſion. If the acquiſitions of the company were obtained by fair and equitable means, what right could the parliament pretend to diveſt them of the juſt reward of their policy and valor? If, on the contrary, thoſe acquiſitions were the fruit of treachery, bloodſhed, and the moſt enormous rapacity, as the advocates for the meaſures now depending in parliament but too juſtly alleged, on what principle human or divine could the parliament vindicate its own conduct, in wreſting by force from the company, and converting to its own emolument and advantage, the fruits of their injuſtice? Slender conſolation certainly would it afford to the natives of Bengal, to be informed that the people of England, fully apprized of the nefarious means by which their country was impoveriſhed and laid waſte, had reſolved to avenge them by plundering the plunderers. In fact, a territorial revenue, in any mode, or under any pretext, extorted from India by

England, is in the view of ETERNAL JUSTICE an ACCURSED THING, and the immutable laws of morality will not bend to the haughty boaſts of parliamentary omnipotence. The Eaſt India company, in the higheſt degree alarmed at the reſolutions recently paſſed by the commons, preſented a ſecond petition to the houſe, in which they repreſent, "that terms and conditions are annexed to the loan which they preſumed to requeſt from parliament, materially differing from the propoſitions on which their requiſition was founded;—that the limitation of the company's dividend to ſeven per cent. after the diſcharge of the loan, is an hardſhip exceedingly aggravated by a conſideration of the great loſſes which they as proprietors have ſuſtained, and the expences they have incurred in acquiring and ſecuring the territorial revenues in India; that the reſolution limiting the company to a term not exceeding ſix years for the poſſeſſion of their territories in India, appears to be altogether arbitrary, as it may be conſtrued into a concluſive deciſion againſt the company reſpecting thoſe territorial poſſeſſions, to which they humbly inſiſt they have an undoubted right;—that they cannot acquieſce in the reſolution reſpecting the ſurplus nett profits of the company, becauſe ſuch diſpoſal of their property appears to them ſubverſive of all their rights and privileges; and rather than ſubmit to ſuch conditions, they deſire that any claims againſt the company which can be ſuppoſed to give riſe to ſuch reſtrictions may receive a legal deciſion, from which, whatever may be the event, they will at leaſt have the ſatisfaction of knowing what they can call their own."

The loan bill, however, founded on theſe reſolutions, paſſed with as little difficulty as the former; and, to complete the new ſyſtem of Indian government, a third bill was in quick ſucceſſion introduced by the miniſter, "for eſtabliſhing certain regulations for the better management of the affairs of the Eaſt India company, as well in India as in Europe." The principal proviſions of the bill were, "That the court of directors ſhould in future be choſen for the term of four years, inſtead of being elected annually, ſix members vacating their ſeats each year;—that the qualification for voting ſhould be raiſed from five hundred to one thouſand pounds capital ſtock, and the term of previous poſſeſſion be extended from ſix months to twelve;——that the juriſdiction of the mayor's court at Calcutta be confined to mercantile cauſes, and a new ſupreme court of judicature be eſtabliſhed in India, conſiſting of a chief juſtice and three puiſne judges of the appointment of the crown. Laſtly, that a ſuperiority with reſpect to all political concernments be given to the preſidency of Bengal, over the other preſidencies in India; the preſent governor and council being confirmed by the bill, certain other perſons added thereto, and a negative upon the future nomination of the company veſted in the crown." Though the prodigious majorities by which the former bills had been carried, ſufficiently demonſtrated the inutility and hopeleſſneſs of oppoſition, petitions were anew preſented to the houſe againſt the preſent bill by the Eaſt India company, the city of London, and the proprietors of five hundred pounds ſtock disfranchiſed by the new qualification clauſe, a reſpectable claſs of men, amounting to above twelve hundred in number. The company in their petition declare, "That the appointment of officers by parliament or the crown to be veſted with the whole civil and military authority of the preſidency of Bengal, independent of any choice or power of control in the directors or general courts of the ſaid company, is deſtructive of their eſſential rights and intereſts, and of the moſt dangerous tendency to the liberty of the ſubject, from the immenſe addition of power it muſt give to the influence of the crown;—that the company have never been made acquainted with any charge of delinquency brought againſt them in parliament; nor have they been called upon to enter on their defence, although this delinquency is made the ground of the new regulations." The bill nevertheleſs paſſed both houſes without difficulty, the majority in the houſe of commons being ſix to one; and in the houſe of peers, on the final diviſion, the numbers were 74 to 17.

The nation were in a great meaſure reconciled to theſe harſh and arbitrary meaſures, by which ſo dangerous an acceſſion of power, patronage, and influence was gained to the crown, by the enquiries of the ſelect committee, in conſequence of which, ſcenes of unexampled oppreſſion and iniquity were unfolded to the public view.

In the courſe of the preſent ſeſſion, a report was preſented to the houſe by general Burgoyne, chairman of the ſelect committee, containing heavy charges againſt individuals in very exalted ſtations, and in which the character and conduct of lord Clive in particular underwent a moſt ſevere inveſtigation. The depoſition and conſequent death of Su-Rajah Dowla, the direful reſult of a conſpiracy between the ſervants of the company and the ſubjects of the ſubah, was repreſented as an act replete with treachery and cruelty. The inextinguiſhable thirſt of lucre was affirmed to be the real and primary cauſe of this revolution, which proved the ſource of infinite miſchief, and the means correſponded in baſeneſs and turpitude with the end. It appeared in evidence, that Omichund, one of the chief of the conſpirators at the court of Moorſhedabad, inſiſted upon five per cent. on all the nabob's treaſures, and thirty lacks in money, for his nefarious ſervices; and that this condition was expreſsly inſerted in a formal treaty concluded and ſigned by the parties previous to the attempt: That another treaty was framed and ſigned by ſeveral parties, Omichund excepted, in order to defraud him of the reward he had ſtipulated for his villany: That admiral Watſon, a man of ſtrict probity and honor, had abſolutely refuſed to ſign the fictitious treaty; but that lord Clive had cauſed the admiral's name to be affixed without his knowledge to this inſtrument: That, on the ſubſequent accompliſhment of the revolution, a conference was held at Moorſhedabad in preſence of the new Subah Meer Jaffier, and the real treaty, ſigned by the ſubah and the Engliſh council, publicly read; on which occaſion lord Clive himſelf declared to the committee, that the reſentment and indignation expreſſed in the countenance of Omichund baffled all deſcription. He ſaid, "This cannot be the treaty; it was a red treaty that I ſaw." On which his lordſhip replied, "Yes, Omichund, but this is a white treaty." It was affirmed, that lord Clive acquired, in conſequence of the depoſition of Su-Rajah Dowla, vaſt ſums under various pretexts, amounting in Engliſh money to no leſs than two hundred and thirty-four thouſand pounds, excluſive of a jaghire or life annuity of thirty thouſand pounds charged on the revenue of the diſtricts ceded by Meer Jaffier to the company. That lord Clive declared, "he had never made the leaſt ſecret of theſe tranſactions;—that his lordſhip held preſents ſo received to be not diſhonorable;—that the ſubah, agreeably to the cuſtoms of the Eaſt, had in a manner ſuitable to his rank and dignity rewarded thoſe who had been happily inſtrumental to the ſucceſs of ſo hazardous an enterpriſe;—adding, that it was well known to every gentleman in Bengal, that the honor of his country, and the intereſt of the proprietary, were the principles that governed all his actions."

Colonel Barré, on the debate which aroſe on reading the report, obſerved, "that the fortunes amaſſed by the company's ſervants were, *no doubt*, all honorably acquired. If the property of the natives was taken without their conſent, it was *military plunder*; if otherwiſe, it was *compenſation for ſervices*;—if by a commercial monopoly, it was *inland trade*. The nice and ingenious diſtinctions made by the noble lord between bribes and preſents, exactions and gratuities, reminded him of a certain Spaniſh governor of Gibraltar, who, amongſt other perquiſites of office, had been accuſtomed to receive an annual donation from the Jews. This people bringing him on one of their anniverſaries only a thouſand ſequins, the governor indignantly declared, "that the

Jews ſhould not have audience, as they were ſprung from anceſtors who crucified our lord Jeſus Chriſt." The Jews went back diſconſolate, but, on farther conſideration, returned with two thouſand ſequins, on which they were again admitted—"for," ſaid the governor, "poor men! they had no hand in the crucifixion."

General Burgoyne concluded the report with moving, "1. That all acquiſitions made under the influence of a military force, or by treaty with foreign princes, do of right belong to the ſtate; 2. That to appropriate acquiſitions ſo made to the private emolument of perſons entruſted with any civil or military powers of the ſtate, is illegal; 3. That very great ſums of money and other valuable property have been acquired in Bengal by perſons of this deſcription, and appropriated to their private uſe." Theſe reſolutions, amidſt the general indignation excited by the report, paſſed with great unanimity.

The ſubject being reſumed after a ſhort interval, the chairman of the committee moved, "That lord CLIVE, about the time of the depoſition of Su-Rajah Dowla, did obtain and poſſeſs himſelf of ſeveral ſums amounting to two hundred and thirty-four thouſand pounds, under the denomination of private donation, *to the diſhonor and detriment of the ſtate.*"

Lord Clive now entered with great ability into his own vindication, and ſhewed the urgent political neceſſity which had induced him to embrace the meaſures for which he was at this diſtance of time ſo unexpectedly and injuriouſly arraigned. He affirmed, that the power and fortune of the Engliſh nation in India had been entirely owing to the boldneſs and promptitude with which thoſe meaſures had been conducted; that what he had acquired for himſelf, was inconſiderable in compariſon with what he had acquired for the company, whoſe welfare had ever been his great object; that he had been placed in great and eminent ſtations, ſurrounded with temptations; the civil and military powers were united in him, a circumſtance which had never happened to any other individual;—that, being circumſcribed by no reſtraint but that of his own conſcience, he might have accumulated a fortune too great for a ſubject; but that he had then determined to reject all future opportunities of gain, and from the day on which he entered the city of Moorſhedabad in triumph, after the victory of Plaſſey, which was a ſpace of fifteen years, he had not benefited himſelf a ſingle ſhilling directly or indirectly, the jaghire only excepted."

Many of the moſt reſpectable and impartial members of the houſe could not on reflection but think it an harſh and invidious thing, that the vengeance of parliament ſhould be directed againſt a man who had raiſed ſo high the reputation of the Britiſh arms in India—who had fought the battles of his country with ſuch unparalleled glory and ſucceſs—and who would to the lateſt generations be accounted amongſt the moſt illuſtrious of her heroes. That the ſyſtem of policy adopted by the company's ſervants in India was totally indefenſible muſt be admitted; but it did not appear from the nature of the regulations, which had received the ſanction of parliament, that any radical alteration of that ſyſtem was in contemplation. A great empire had been founded in the Eaſt, chiefly through the exertions of the noble lord againſt whom this charge of delinquency was brought. Is it ſeriouſly meant to relinquiſh this empire; to reſtore thoſe immenſe ſums to the native princes and inhabitants, of which they have been plundered? Far from it. The queſtion is merely, whether the ſtate or the company ſhall enjoy the advantages ariſing from theſe vaſt poſſeſſions? Of this conteſt the reſult is known. The company, loaded with reproach and obloquy, are cenſured, condemned, and puniſhed, without ſo much as being heard in their own defence; but reſtitution is made, not to the princes of India, but to the people of Great Britain: and almoſt at the ſame inſtant that we are paſſing bills for the purpoſe of transferring the riches of Hindoſtan from the treaſury of the company to the royal exchequer, we are called upon to vote impeachments againſt the man by whoſe heroic efforts of valor and plans of policy thoſe riches were acquired. Is there any trace of dignity, of conſiſtency, or virtue in this conduct? If we are deliberately determined to keep poſſeſſion of thoſe dominions, which are univerſally allowed to have been unjuſtly acquired, we are parties in the injuſtice, and thoſe who were the original actors of it are entitled from the juſtice of the nation (for there is a juſtice even in injuſtice) to indemnity at leaſt, if not to gratitude and applauſe; and all that can with propriety be done, ſhort of reſtitution and emancipation, is to ſecure, by wiſe and equitable regulations, the future happineſs and welfare of thoſe diſtant nations, who are become by an aſtoniſhing viciſſitude of fortune ſubject to our dominion."

On putting the queſtion, the laſt clauſe of the reſolution was rejected, although the miniſter declared in favor of the words of cenſure, and divided in the minority. An amendment was then moved, "that lord Clive did at the ſame time render great and meritorious ſervices to this country;" which was carried by a conſiderable majority, *and an* END *put to the* ENQUIRY. A deep impreſſion was nevertheleſs made upon the mind of this nobleman by this public accuſation, and by the odium and obloquy which from this time attached itſelf to his character. His faculties, no longer rouſed to action by the neceſſity of great and vigorous exertion, languiſhed in retirement and ſolitude, and gradually preyed upon themſelves till exiſtence became inſupportable. Originally educated in ſtrict principles of religion, it is probable that his early aſſociations now recurred with redoubled force; and though acquitted by the higheſt human juriſdiction, he could not acquit himſelf, or hope for acquittal at that far more awful tribunal at which he dreaded to appear. After a few years paſſed in a ſtate of wretchedneſs and deſpondency, he at length put a voluntary period to his life; by this melancholy cataſtrophe demonſtrating to mankind the vanity of human purſuits and wiſhes, and the infinite ſuperiority of conſcious virtue to all the gifts of fame and fortune*.

The diſcuſſion of the different bills relative to India occupied the attention of parliament the far greater part of the ſeſſion; but in the courſe of it an inveſtigation took place, of far inferior importance indeed, yet not devoid of intereſt to thoſe who think nothing foreign to themſelves which bears any relation to humanity. The iſland of St. Vincent, one of the neutral iſlands ceded by France to Great Britain by the laſt treaty of peace, was in great part occupied by a race of yellow Caribbs, accounted the aboriginal poſſeſſors of the entire chain of the Great and Leſſer Antilles; and it was calculated that, reduced as they were in number, they could ſtill muſter, within the narrow limits of St. Vincents, more than a thouſand fighting men.

The French ſettlers had long lived on terms of perfect peace and amity with this remnant of a once great and powerful nation, who are repreſented as a quiet and inoffenſive people, ſubſiſting chiefly by hunting and fiſhing, and little verſed in the arts of paſturage or agriculture. The French government, agreeably to the generous policy of that nation reſpecting the ſavage tribes of America, had treated theſe Caribbs with uniform reſpect and diſtinction, as the original

* Magne Pater Divûm! ſævos punire tyrannos,
Haud alia ratione velis, cum dira libido
Moverit ingenium ferventi tincta veneno;
Virtutem videant, intabeſcantque relictâ.

PERSIUS.

Great father of the GODS! when for our crimes
Thou ſend'ſt ſome heavy judgment on the times;
Some tyrant wretch, the terror of his age,
The type and true vicegerent of thy rage;
Thus puniſh him—Set virtue in his ſight,
With all her charms adorn'd, with all her beauties bright;
But ſet her diſtant—make him pale to ſee
His gains immenſe outweigh'd by loſt felicity.

DRYDEN, Sat. 10.

ral and rightful proprietors of the iſland, and ſtill remaining a free and independent people.

Soon after the peace many of the French ſettlers, chooſing to remove to the French iſlands, diſpoſed of their plantations at St. Vincents' to Engliſh adventurers, who ſoon became conſiderable in numbers and property. Though no ſtipulation had been made in favor of the Caribbs by the treaty of Paris, inſtructions were tranſmitted by the Engliſh court, that they ſhould not be diſturbed in the poſſeſſion of their lands. But the new ſettlers, quickly perceiving that the moſt fertile diſtricts of the iſland were in the hands of the Caribbs, made repeated repreſentations to the government to diveſt theſe people of the lands which they actually occupied, and the fertility of which rendered them of no additional or peculiar value to the Caribbs, and to beſtow upon them in exchange other lands in the iſland or ELSEWHERE, as ſhould be thought expedient. The advantage ariſing from the ſale of theſe lands to the crown, and the danger reſulting to the Engliſh ſettlers from the vicinity of a *lawleſs banditti* ſtrongly attached to the French nation, were urged as arguments highly meriting the attention of government. At length orders were iſſued early in the year 1768, by the board of treaſury, for the *ſurvey* and *diſpoſal* of the lands poſſeſſed by the Caribbs, for the cultivated parts of which they were to receive a compenſation in money, and to have other lands allotted for their ſupport in a diſtant and mountainous part of the iſland. Five years were allowed for the purpoſe of effecting this tranſplantation.

The Caribbs, who from the firſt had with good reaſon entertained jealouſies and ſuſpicions of the Engliſh, were at the communication of this intelligence ſeized with univerſal conſternation; and being perſuaded that the ſlavery or extermination of their whole race was determined upon, they applied to the governor of Martinique, in this dreadful exigency, for advice and protection; but he informed them that he had no power to interpoſe, and exhorted them to ſubmit to their fate without attempting a reſiſtance, which muſt prove inevitably fruitleſs. But this brave people, animated with an ardent love of liberty, and paſſionately attached to their native woods and ſavannahs, reſolved to aſſert, and, ſo far as it ſhould be in their power, to maintain their rights. In reply therefore to the Engliſh commiſſioners, they repreſented that the whole iſland was originally their property—that the French nation had, indeed, with their permiſſion and good-will, ſettled upon a part of it, and their king might doubtleſs diſpoſe of that part as he pleaſed; but as they were not his ſubjects, he could exerciſe no authority over them, nor grant to any other people the lands which they had reſerved to themſelves. In concluſion, they poſitively refuſed to part with their lands, or to admit of any exchange.

The Engliſh commiſſioners, regardleſs of theſe remonſtrances, proceeded in their ſurveys, advancing roads into the heart of the Caribb country. The Caribbs, however irritated and provoked, carefully abſtained from any direct acts of violence, farther than the deſtruction of the new roads, and burning the huts of the ſurveyors, who abandoned their works, and were permitted to retire in ſafety. Freſh remonſtrances were now made in England againſt the Caribbs, who were repreſented as *daring and incorrigible rebels*, and it was propoſed to tranſport them to ſome deſert iſland or waſte on the coaſt of Africa; but the government ſtill ſeemed unwilling to proceed to theſe extremities, and new propoſals were made to them for a partition and exchange of lands, which they rejected with unalterable fimneſs. And being aſked whether they acknowledged themſelves ſubjects to the king of Great Britain, and would take the oath of allegiance? they replied without heſitation in the negative—declaring that they were an independent people, ſubject neither to the king of Great Britain nor the king of France. In conſequence of this contumacy, orders were iſſued for two regiments to embark from North America to join an equal number already at St. Vincents' or the neighboring iſlands, which, with the naval force on that ſtation, were deſtined to reduce the Caribbs to a due ſubmiſſion to government; or, if they continued obſtinate, they were to be entirely removed from the iſland to ſuch place as ſhould be determined upon.

At this period an enquiry was inſtituted in the houſe of commons reſpecting this buſineſs, and the following reſolutions were moved by Mr. Alderman Trecothick, member for the city of London: "1. That the expedition againſt the Caribbs was undertaken without ſufficient provocation on the part of theſe poor people, and at the inſtigation of perſons intereſted in their deſtruction. 2. That ſending the troops in the unhealthy ſeaſon of the year, unprovided with camp equipage and neceſſaries, on that ſervice, is not juſtifiable by any exiſting neceſſity. 3. That an addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, deſiring that his majeſty will be pleaſed to acquaint the houſe by whoſe advice a meaſure was undertaken equally repugnant to the humanity of his majeſty's temper, diſgraceful to his arms, and derogatory from the character of the Britiſh nation." Theſe motions were ſeverally negatived by great majorities; but the buſineſs occupying a conſiderable ſhare of attention, and the public feelings being awakened, it would probably have been ſoon revived, had not intelligence arrived that a treaty of peace was at length concluded with the Caribbs, after ſeveral fierce encounters, in which the regular troops had ſeverely ſuffered— the loſs in this expedition, including the ſick and wounded, amounting to little leſs than ſeven hundred men.

By this treaty the project of tranſplantation to Africa was wholly abandoned, the Caribbs were confirmed in their poſſeſſions, and the antient rights annexed to them, with the exception of certain diſtricts to be ſurrendered to the commiſſioners appointed by his Britannic Majeſty, whom they recognized as rightful ſovereign of the iſland and domain of St. Vincents', acknowledging that the lands held by them are granted through his majeſty's clemency. Thus, by a reſolute exertion of valor, tempered as it appears with no ſmall degree of diſcretion, did this handful of people ultimately eſtabliſh their privileges and virtual independency, againſt the attack of a mighty power which menaced their total ruin and extermination; and the treaty between the Caribbs of St. Vincents' and the king of Great Britain is a monument of hiſtorical curioſity, ſingularly valuable as a ſtriking confirmation of the utility and importance of the magnanimous maxim, "in no circumſtances to deſpair of the commonwealth."

It muſt not be omitted, that the bill for the enlargement of the toleration act in the courſe of the preſent ſeſſion again paſſed the houſe of commons by a prodigious majority, and was again rejected by the lords. The debate in the upper houſe was on this occaſion illumined by a ray of genius ſuddenly emanating from the earl of Chatham.

Dr. Drummond, archbiſhop of York, having in a virulent ſpeech ſtigmatized the diſſenting miniſters as "men of cloſe ambition," lord Chatham ſaid, this was judging uncharitably, and whoever brought ſuch a charge againſt them without proof DEFAMED." Here he pauſed: but, feeling the workings of a generous and indignant enthuſiaſm, he thus proceeded:—"The diſſenting miniſters are repreſented as men of *cloſe ambition*—they are ſo, my lords, and their ambition is to keep cloſe to the college of fiſhermen, not of Cardinals; and to the doctrine of inſpired apoſtles, not to the decrees of intereſted and aſpiring biſhops—THEY contend for a ſpiritual creed and ſpiritual worſhip; WE have a calviniſtic creed, a popiſh liturgy, and an arminian clergy*. The reformation has laid open the ſcriptures to all —

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* It is well known that the Engliſh liturgy is taken chiefly from the Catholic maſs book, nor does this at all detract from its great and acknowledged merit as a devotional compoſition. But its origin is too evidently diſcernible in the authoritative

—let not the biſhops ſhut them again. Laws in ſupport of eccleſiaſtical power are pleaded for, which it would ſhock humanity to execute. It is ſaid that religious ſects have done great miſchief when they were not kept under reſtraint; but hiſtory affords no proof that ſects have ever been miſchievous when they were not oppreſſed and perſecuted by the ruling church."

An end was at length put to the ſeſſion, which had now continued more than ſeven months, by a ſpeech from the throne, in which his majeſty expreſſed to the two houſes his high approbation of the zeal, aſſiduity, and perſeverance with which they had applied themſelves to the very important buſineſs which had been recommended to their attention.

This may be conſidered as the moſt brilliant æra of lord North's adminiſtration. Supported by vaſt parliamentary majorities, and the general concurrence of the nation, he had carried into complete effect a plan of government and reform for India, the vigor of which was apparent, while experience only could prove its deficiency in wiſdom. With reſpect to America, every thing might be hoped from that diſpoſition to conciliation which was known to characterize the nobleman who now preſided over that department. There appeared a fair proſpect of permanent peace abroad; and thoſe diſturbances which had ſo long prevailed at home, ſeemed gradually ſubſiding into a tranquillity which the nation had rarely, and for very ſhort intervals, known ſince the commencement of the preſent reign. There yet remained

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authoritative papal form of abſolution, the vain and perpetual repetition of the *gloria patri*, and the ſolemn invocations of the TRINITY, which, ſaith Luther, "is a word of ſtrange ſound, and of mere human invention—it were better to call Almighty God GOD than TRINITY." And Calvin ſtill more explicitly declares, "I like not this prayer, O holy bleſſed, and glorious TRINITY!—it ſavors of barbariſm. The word TRINITY is unintelligible, profane, grounded upon no teſtimony of God's word—the POPISH GOD unknown to the prophets and apoſtles." It is remarkable that the greateſt geniuſes which this country has produced, BACON, MILTON, LOCKE, NEWTON, CLARKE, &c. have concurred in the rejection of this dogma of the popular and orthodox creed.

at the extremity of the weſtern horizon a dark cloud, which, however ſlightly noticed by the generality of perſons, ſeemed to the more diſcerning to bode a diſtant but DREADFUL TEMPEST.

The unfortunate diſputes with the American colonies, revived by the impoſition of the port duties in 1767, had ſince that fatal period ſuffered no interruption or abatement, though very much kept out of ſight by thoſe vehement domeſtic conteſts in which the Engliſh nation felt itſelf for the time more nearly intereſted, though of far leſs real and laſting importance. A general retroſpective view of colonial politics will be neceſſary, to illuſtrate and introduce the momentous tranſactions of the ſucceeding years. In the act impoſing the port duties on paper, glaſs, colors, teas, &c. paſſed A. D. 1767, was a remarkable clauſe, which gave ſcarcely leſs umbrage and alarm than the taxes themſelves; empowering the crown by ſign manual to eſtabliſh a general CIVIL LIST throughout every province in America, to an indefinite extent, with any ſalaries, places, or appointments, to the very laſt ſhilling of the American revenue. The act indeed provided, that after all ſuch miniſterial warrants under the ſign manual as are thought proper and neceſſary ſhall be *ſatisfied*, the reſidue of the revenue ſhall be at the diſpoſal of parliament. "But who, it was aſked, can ſuppoſe ſuch warrants *will* ever be *ſatisfied* till miniſters have provided for all their friends and favorites? This mockery of an American revenue proves at laſt, ſaid a member of the houſe (Mr. Hartley), to be only the crumbs that fall from the miniſter's table—the RESIDUE of a royal warrant counterſigned by the firſt lord of the treaſury!" The next ſtep in the progreſs of the new ſyſtem of American taxation, was the eſtabliſhment of an American board of commiſſioners, which, under the auſpices of the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Charles Townſhend, paſſed into an act the ſame ſeſſion. This board was fixed at Boſton, where the commiſſioners arrived in the autumn of that year.

The non-importation agreement entered into by the colonies, in conſequence of the raſh and unadviſed meaſures adopted by England, have been already noticed; but though they confined their *practical oppoſition* to their commercial combinations, they now began to indulge a boundleſs and dangerous licence of *ſpeculative diſcuſſion* on the nature and extent of parliamentary power. Till this period they had, with a cherfulneſs which precluded any deep or accurate inveſtigation of right, admitted the exerciſe of a diſcretionary legiſlative authority in the parliament of Great Britain. They had admitted the diſtinction between raiſing money as the mere incidental produce of regulating duties, and for the direct purpoſe of revenue; but now they argued more boldly, and as ſpeculatiſts more conſiſtently, in ſaying, that if the parliament of Great Britain has no right to tax us internally, they have none to tax us externally; and if they have no right to *tax* us without our conſent, they can have none to govern or to *legiſlate for us* without our conſent. Theſe reaſonings, ſo natural and obvious in preſent circumſtances, when the power of the mother country was, in the apprehenſion of every American, employed to the purpoſes of oppreſſion, prove in a ſtriking manner the unexampled folly of Great Britain, in riſquing the diſcuſſion of a right ſo problematic and precarious. The only juſt and ſolid baſis of the authority of Great Britain over the colonies, was that of common utility ſanctioned by long preſcription and univerſal acquieſcence. But when the authority of Great Britain was exerted for her own ſeparate advantage, in a manner unauthorized by cuſtom, and unacknowledged by thoſe over whom it was exerciſed by mere dint of ſuperior force, it could in nothing be diſtinguiſhed from tyranny, to which reſiſtance and revolt only can be properly oppoſed. To attempt to govern a whole nation in a mode abhorrent from their feelings, principles, and prejudices, is a complication of folly and wickedneſs; and the counſels of Great Britain at this period were governed by a ſpirit of infatuation,

tion, which it is difficult to analyſe into any of the common principles of human action, and which excites our aſtoniſhment at leaſt as ſtrongly as our indignation or regret.

In January 1768, the aſſembly of Maſſachuſetts Bay tranſmitted, by their ſpeaker, a circular letter to the different colonies, in which they recommend to the reſpective colonial legiſlatures to take into joint conſideration the meaſures it may be proper to adopt for the redreſs of their common grievances, particularly ſpecifying the late acts impoſing duties and taxes on America, and expreſſing their firm confidence in the king, their common head and father, that the united and dutiful ſupplications of his diſtreſſed American ſubjects will meet with his royal and favorable acceptance. No ſooner was this known in England, than lord Hillſborough tranſmitted inſtructions to governor Bernard, in his majeſty's name, ſo ſoon as the general court is again aſſembled, to require of the houſe of repreſentatives "to RESCIND the reſolution which gave birth to the circular letter from the ſpeaker, and to declare their diſapprobation of, and diſſent from, that raſh and haſty proceeding—at the ſame time ſtrangely affirming the reſolution in queſtion to be unfair, contrary to the real ſenſe of the aſſembly, and procured by ſurpriſe;" although it in fact paſſed almoſt unanimouſly in a very full houſe, after the moſt ample and deliberate diſcuſſion. In caſe of the refuſal of the houſe to comply with this requiſition, the governor was commanded immediately to diſſolve the aſſembly, and to tranſmit to his lordſhip an account of their tranſactions. This imperious demand was conceived preciſely in the ſpirit of a mandate of the French king to his parliaments, but fortunately it could not be enforced by *lettres de cachet.* If French parliaments have been known reſolutely to reſiſt the will of the deſpot with the terrors of impriſonment, exile, and death before their eyes, it will eaſily be ſuppoſed that an aſſembly of men boaſting their deſcent from anceſtors whoſe garments were ſtained in the blood of tyrants, were little likely to yield this abject ſubmiſſion. A committee of the houſe reported a letter to lord Hillſborough, in which the egregious miſapprehenſion of his lordſhip, with regard to the mode in which the reſolution had paſſed the houſe, was corrected; and the houſe then agreed on a meſſage to the governor, in which they ſaid—"It is to us incomprehenſible that we ſhould be required, on the peril of a diſſolution of the general court, to reſcind a reſolution of a former houſe, when it is evident that that reſolution has no exiſtence but as a mere hiſtorical fact. Your excellency muſt know that the reſolution is, to ſpeak the language of the common law, not now executory, but to all intents and purpoſes executed. If, as is moſt probable, by the word *reſcinding* is intended the paſſing a vote in direct and expreſs diſapprobation of the meaſure of the former houſe, we muſt take the liberty to teſtify, and publicly to declare, that we take it to be the native, inherent, and indefeaſible right of the ſubject jointly or ſeverally to petition the king for the redreſs of grievances. If the votes of the houſe are to be controlled by the directions of a miniſter, we have left us but a vain ſemblance of liberty. We have now only to inform you, that this houſe have voted NOT to RESCIND; and that on the diviſion on the queſtion, there were ninety-two yeas, and ſeventeen nays." The next day the governor diſſolved the aſſembly. In the courſe of the debate which preceded this reſolution, a member of the aſſembly ſaid, "When lord Hillſborough knows that we will not reſcind our acts, he ſhould apply to parliament to reſcind theirs. Let Britain reſcind her meaſures, or ſhe will loſe America for ever."

At the ſame time that lord Hillſborough tranſmitted his majeſty's high commands to Sir Francis Bernard, he wrote a circular letter to the governors of the different provinces, in which, referring to the letter of the Maſſachuſetts aſſembly, his lordſhip ſaid, "It is his majeſty's PLEASURE that you ſhould, immediately on the receipt hereof, exert your utmoſt influence to defeat this flagitious attempt to diſturb the public peace, by prevailing upon the aſſembly of the province to take no notice of it, which will be treating it with the contempt it deſerves." The contempt of the Americans was reſerved however for the letter of his lordſhip; the aſſemblies throughout the continent highly applauding the conduct of the Maſſachuſetts, and almoſt unanimouſly paſſing votes and reſolves according with the ſpirit of the letter received from Boſton. The aſſembly of New York in particular, whoſe principles were ſuppoſed moſt favorable to loyalty, anſwered it in the moſt reſpectful terms, and appointed a committee of correſpondence to conſult with the other colonies on the meaſures to be purſued in the preſent criſis; upon which that aſſembly alſo was diſſolved. Orders alſo were tranſmitted by lord Hillſborough to governor Penn, to diſſolve the aſſembly of Pennſylvania; his lordſhip, by a pleaſant miſtake, not recollecting it to be the eſtabliſhed and chartered privilege of that houſe to ſit on their own adjournments, and that the governor had no power to diſſolve them.

In the midſt of the ferment occaſioned by theſe proceedings, a ſloop, called the Liberty, laden with wine from Madeira, was ſeized under authority of the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms for a falſe entry; and being cut by force from her moorings, was by their order removed under the guns of the Romney, a ſhip of war lying in the harbor of Boſton. The minds of the populace being greatly inflamed, a violent riot enſued, in which the houſes of the commiſſioners were aſſailed, their perſons groſsly inſulted, and they were compelled to take refuge at firſt on board the Romney, and afterwards at the fortreſs adjacent to the town, called Caſtle William. It being now thought neceſſary by government, which diſdained every idea of conceſſion or retractation, to ſtation a conſiderable military and naval force at the town of Boſton, orders were iſſued for that purpoſe, and alſo for repairing the fortreſs of Caſtle William. On receiving this intelligence, a meeting of the principal inhabitants of Boſton was called, and an addreſs preſented by them to the governor, praying him in the moſt urgent terms to iſſue precepts forthwith for convening a general aſſembly; but this his excellency declared he could not do without receiving his majeſty's commands. The legality of the meeting alſo was peremptorily denied by the governor, who declared the conveners of it to be guilty of *an high offence*, admoniſhing them to conſider the penalties they were incurring by continuing their ſeſſion; and he proteſted that, if they did not attend to this warning, he muſt aſſert the prerogative of the crown in a more public manner; adding, in a tone of menace, "that they may aſſure themſelves, for he ſpoke from INSTRUCTION, that the KING was determined to maintain his ENTIRE SOVEREIGNTY over that province; and whoever ſhould perſiſt in *uſurping* any of the rights of it would REPENT his RASHNESS." But the governor ſeemed not to recollect, that thoſe who *uſurp* the RIGHTS of the PEOPLE may be made to REPENT their RASHNESS, as well as thoſe who invade the PREROGATIVE of the SOVEREIGN. A number of votes expreſſive of the agitation of the public mind were unanimouſly paſſed, and amongſt them is a reſolve, that thoſe inhabitants who are not provided with arms be requeſted to furniſh themſelves forthwith. On the firſt of October 1768, the troops landed under cover of a conſiderable fleet, conſiſting of fourteen ſhips of war of different deſcriptions, lying in the harbor of Boſton, with their broadſides to the town; and marching into this metropolis with bayonets fixed, drums beating, and colors flying, with a train of artillery accompanying them, the imagination of the inhabitants was impreſſed with all the ideas aſſociated with the inſolence of conqueſt, and the horrors of military deſpotiſm.

In the enſuing month of February (1769) a joint addreſs was moved and preſented by both houſes of parliament to the king, expreſſing their ſatisfaction in the meaſures already purſued,

purſued; and giving him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, "that they would ſupport him in ſuch farther meaſures as might be found neceſſary to maintain the civil magiſtrates in a due execution of the laws within the Maſſachuſetts Bay; and beſeeching him to direct the governor to take the moſt effectual methods for procuring the fulleſt information touching all TREASONS committed within that government ſince the 30th December 1767, and to tranſmit the ſame, with the names of the perſons moſt active in the commiſſion of ſuch offences, in order that his majeſty might iſſue a ſpecial commiſſion for hearing and determining the ſaid offences within the realm, purſuant to the ſtatute of the 35th year of Henry VIII." In reply his Majeſty aſſured them, "that he would not fail, in the mode they had recommended, to give the moſt effectual orders for bringing the authors of the late diſorders in the province of Maſſachuſetts to CONDIGN PUNISHMENT." Thus was an obſolete and tyrannical ſtatute of the moſt arbitrary of the Engliſh monarchs revived in the reign of George III. in the vain hope to ſubdue that unconquerable ſpirit of liberty in America, which only blazed the more fiercely and dangerouſly for the repeated attempts to over-whelm or extinguiſh it. "Conſider well," ſaid colonel Barré to the miniſters, when the addreſs was pending in the houſe of commons, "what you are doing. Why will you deceive yourſelves and us? You know that it is not this or that place only that diſputes your right, but every part. They tell you with one voice, from one end of the continent to the other, *that you have no right to tax America.*" When this addreſs reached the weſtern ſhore of the Atlantic, the aſſemblies of Maſſachuſetts and New York no longer exiſted; but Virginia, on this occaſion, aſſumed the lead with equal ſpirit and firmneſs. On the 16th of May (1769) they came to ſeveral reſolutions, copies of which they ordered their ſpeaker to tranſmit to the different aſſemblies throughout the continent, and to requeſt their concurrence. Theſe reſolutions imported, "That the ſole right of impoſing taxes on the inhabitants of the colony is now, and ever hath been, in the houſe of burgeſſes, with conſent of the council, and of the king, or governor for the time being:—That it is the privilege of the inhabitants to petition their ſovereign for redreſs of grievances; and that it is lawful to procure the concurrence of his majeſty's other colonies in dutiful addreſſes, praying the royal interpoſition in favor of the violated rights of America:—That all trials for treaſon, or miſpriſion of treaſon, here committed, ought to be in and before his majeſty's courts within the ſaid colony; and, that ſending accuſed perſons to be tried beyond the ſeas, is highly derogatory to the rights of Britiſh ſubjects." Theſe reſolutions were followed by an humble addreſs to the king, beſeeching his royal interpoſition to quiet the minds of his loyal ſubjects in the colonies, and to avert thoſe dangers and miſeries which will enſue from a departure from the ancient rules and maxims of government." The next day, lord Bottecourt, the governor, declared to the aſſembly, that theſe reſolutions had made it his duty to diſſolve them; and that they were diſſolved accordingly. The aſſembly immediately voted themſelves into a convention, and chooſing the late ſpeaker, Peyton Randolph, eſq. moderator, they entered unanimouſly into an aſſociation againſt importing, not only the taxed commodities, but wines and other articles; and the ſimple recommendations of this convention had throughout the province all the force and efficacy of law. The neighboring province of Maryland followed the example of this great and leading colony, in reſpect to the non-importation agreement; and the North Carolina aſſembly adopting, by an expreſs vote, the reſolutions paſſed by Virginia, were alſo diſſolved by governor Tryon.

The general court of Maſſachuſetts being called together in the courſe of the ſummer 1769, in conformity to their charter, immediately preſented an addreſs to his excellency the governor, for the removal of the naval and military force ſtationed in the town and harbor of Boſton; to which the governor returned for anſwer, "that he had no authority over his majeſty's ſhips in this port, or his troops within this town." The houſe refuſing to proceed to buſineſs while they were ſurrounded with an armed force, the governor adjourned the court to the town of Cambridge; ſoon after which they paſſed reſolutions ſimilar to thoſe of Virginia; and alſo a vote, "that the ſending an armed force into the colony, under pretence of aſſiſting the civil power, is highly dangerous to the people, unprecedented, and unconſtitutional." The governor calling upon them to declare, whether they would or would not make proviſion for the troops agreeably to the injunctions of the act of parliament? the houſe anſwered, "As we cannot conſiſtently with our honor or intereſt, much leſs with the duty we owe to our conſtituents; ſo we never ſhall make any proviſion of funds for the purpoſes in your ſeveral meſſages." Upon this the governor prorogued them to the 10th of January 1770, to meet at Boſton. The propoſition adopted by the Britiſh parliament, for tranſporting perſons from America in order to trial in Great Britain, by a forced and unheard of conſtruction of the old ſtatute of Henry VIII. excited prodigious alarm throughout the continent. The houſe of repreſentatives of Virginia, in their addreſs to the king, expreſs with feeling and dignity the ſentiments which, wounded by ſuch cruel provocation, muſt neceſſarily animate the breaſts of freemen. "When we conſider," ſay they, "that, by the eſtabliſhed laws and conſtitution of this colony, the moſt ample proviſion is made for apprehending and puniſhing all thoſe who ſhall dare to engage in any treaſonable practices againſt your majeſty, or diſturb the tranquillity of government, we cannot without horror think of the unuſual, and, permit us with all humility to add, unconſtitutional and illegal mode recommended to your majeſty, of ſeizing and carrying beyond the ſea the inhabitants of America ſuſpected of any crime, and of trying ſuch perſons in any other manner than by the ancient and long-eſtabliſhed courſe of proceedings: for how truly deplorable muſt be the caſe of a wretched American, who, having incurred the diſpleaſure of any one in power, is dragged from his native home—conveyed to a diſtant land, where no friend will alleviate his diſtreſſes, and where no witneſs can be found to teſtify his innocence!"

In the courſe of this ſummer (1769) was tranſmitted to the governors of the different provinces the famous circular letter of lord Hillſborough, containing a virtual renunciation of future taxation; and an engagement, ſo far as the miniſters of the crown could engage, to repeal, on the principles of commercial expediency, the taxes already ſubſiſting on glaſs, paper, and colors. But America was now too much irritated and inflamed to be eaſily or ſpeedily appeaſed. The exception of the duty on tea was regarded as inſidious, and indicatory of miniſterial fraud and fineſſe; and it was univerſally declared, that nothing leſs than a repeal of all the revenue acts, and the other odious and oppreſſive laws paſſed in the preſent reign, could lay the foundation of a ſolid and permanent re-union between Great Britain and her colonies.

The reſidence of the military at Boſton, far from preſerving the peace of the town, was the occaſion of perpetual tumult and diſturbance. The governor, Sir Francis Bernard, from the violence of his temper, grew every day more obnoxious to the inhabitants, and the licentiouſneſs of the Boſton populace ſeemed to threaten his perſonal ſafety; notwithſtanding which, he ſcrupled not to walk frequently alone and unattended at his villa in the vicinity of the metropolis. On being aſked whether he had no apprehenſions of danger, he replied, "No; they are not a blood-thirſty people." He was at length recalled in the autumn of 1769, in order to lay before the king the true ſtate of the province, and was ſucceeded by Mr. Hutchinſon, who had long filled the poſt of lieutenant governor. Early in the ſpring of the enſuing year 1770, a quarrel between the military and the townſmen of Boſton took place, more ſerious than any of thoſe which had preceded it. A private of the 29th regiment paſſing early on the Saturday morning along a public rope-walk, was provoked by inſulting words to engage a party of his comrades to attack the rope-makers. The battle being indeciſive, it was determined to fight it out on the Monday. The populace being in the interim fully appriſed of the intended encounter, aſſembled in great numbers armed with clubs and other weapons at the time appointed; the bells alſo ringing an alarum, and violent clamors of "town-born, turn-out," being heard in all parts of the city. The mob directed its courſe to Murray's barracks, and dared the ſoldiery by very offenſive language to combat, which they were with great difficulty prevented from doing by the officers. At length retiring from the barracks, the populace were addreſſed in the ſtreet by "a tall large man in a red cloak and a white wig;" and after liſtening for ſome minutes to his harangue with great attention, they exclaimed with ſhouts and huzzas "for the main-guard!" for which they immediately began their route in different diviſions. Captain Preſton, the officer on duty, on the appearance of the frantic multitude, who with oaths and execrations preſſed in upon the ſoldiers, advancing to the very points of the bayonets, endeavored by every effort to reſtrain the ſoldiers from violence. But a party the moſt furious of the populace, in ſailors habits, ſtruck the guns down with their clubs, and a blow was aimed by one of them at Captain Preſton. On which a confuſed noiſe of "fire!" was heard, and ſeveral pieces being diſcharged, ten or twelve perſons were killed or wounded. The drums now beat every where to arms! and the townſmen aſſembled to the amount of many thouſands: but the governor at length making his appearance in perſon, they were prevailed upon, it being now moonlight, to diſperſe. The next morning the people again collected in vaſt bodies, and the governor aſſembling a council was urged to order the immediate removal of the troops; to which he moſt reluctantly aſſented, being told by Mr. Oliver the lieutenant governor, that he had no other option but to comply, or leave the province. On this removal the ferment began to ſubſide. In the mean time, captain Preſton and the other priſoners, after a full and fair trial, were by a verdict worthy of the higheſt praiſe honorably acquitted, two only excepted, who were found guilty of manſlaughter. Mr. Quincy and Mr. Adams, counſel for the priſoners, and themſelves warm partiſans of liberty, exerted their utmoſt ability in their defence." "We muſt," ſaid one of theſe gentlemen, addreſſing the jury, "ſteel ourſelves againſt prepoſſeſſions which contaminate the fountain of juſtice. To your candor and impartiality I ſubmit the priſoners and their cauſe. The LAW, in all viciſſitudes of government, fluctuations of paſſion, or flights of enthuſiaſm, will preſerve a ſteady undeviating courſe. To uſe the words of a patriot, a hero, a martyr to liberty, ALGERNON SYDNEY, 'Tis *mens ſine affectu*; without any regard to perſons it commands that which is good, and it puniſhes that which is evil; it is deaf, inexorable, inflexible. On the one hand, it is inexorable to the cries and lamentations of the priſoners; on the other, it is deaf, deaf as an adder, to the clamours of the populace."

On the 31ſt May, 1770, the aſſembly of Maſſachuſetts was convened at Cambridge. The houſe immediately preſented a remonſtrance to the governor againſt its being held there, or at any other place than Boſton, and, by a majority of ninety voices, voted it to be a grievance, and reſolved not to proceed to buſineſs; on which the governor prorogued them to the month of July. On re-aſſembling, they perſiſted in their former reſolution, and were again prorogued to September. In an addreſs to the governor, previous to the laſt prorogation, the aſſembly, with minds apparently oppreſſed by gloomy and prophetic forebodings, inſiſted upon the right of the people to appeal to heaven in diſputes between them and perſons in power, when there is an abuſe of power. "We would, however, ſay they, by no means be underſtood to ſuggeſt that this people have occaſion *at preſent* to proceed to ſuch extremity; yet grievances and cruelties too many to be enumerated, too melancholy to be much longer borne by this people, we have ſeen brought upon us." On the third meeting of the aſſembly, September 26, the governor informed them that the garriſon at the caſtle in the pay of the province, was to be withdrawn by order of his majeſty, and the fortreſs to be garriſoned by regular troops; and that his orders were, to deliver it up to ſuch officer as general Gage ſhould direct to take the command of it. The aſſembly in reply obſerved, "If the cuſtody and government of the fortreſs be now lodged with the military power, independent of the ſupreme civil magiſtrate within this juriſdiction, it is ſo eſſential an alteration of the conſtitution as muſt juſtly alarm a free people." The houſe, from the neceſſity of the caſe, now proceeded to buſineſs; and before the prorogation, they eſtabliſhed a "committee of correſpondence, to communicate with ſuch committees as may be appointed by other colonies." In the month of April, 1771, the general court was again convened at Cambridge; and againſt this obnoxious exertion of power the aſſembly again remonſtrated, and entered their proteſt. The governor informing the houſe, that by his majeſty's inſtructions he was forbidden to give his aſſent to any act ſubjecting the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms, and other officers of the crown, to be taxed by the uſual aſſeſſors for the profits of their commiſſions, the houſe in language daring and indignant replied: "We know of no commiſſioners of his majeſty's cuſtoms, nor of any revenue his MAJESTY has a right to eſtabliſh in North America. We know and feel a tribute levied and extorted from thoſe, who, if they have property, have a right to the abſolute diſpoſal of it." The ſeſſion paſſed heavily in ſullen ſilence, or angry recrimination.

On the ſucceeding year, May 1772, the general court being again convened at Cambridge, the governor acquainted the houſe, that his majeſty had made proviſion for his ſupport; on which the houſe, by a meſſage to the governor, declared, "that the making proviſion for his excellency's ſupport, independent of the grants and acts of general aſſembly, and the governor's receiving the ſame, is an infraction upon the rights of the inhabitants granted by the royal charter." An unfortunate incident about this time took place at Rhode Iſland, which proved a new ſource of animoſity and diſcord. Lieutenant Duddington, commander of the Gaſpee armed ſchooner, an officer very obnoxious by his extraordinary zeal and vigilance in the execution of the revenue laws, falling in with the Providence packet, employed in the tranſportation of goods and paſſengers to Newport, ordered by ſignal the maſter to lower his colors; which being diſregarded, he fired a ſhot at the packet and chaſed. It being near high water, the packet ſtood cloſe in with the land, deſigning that the Gaſpee ſhould be run aground in the chaſe. The Gaſpee accordingly was ſoon faſt: and, the tide having now done flowing, could by no means diſengage herſelf. So favorable an opportunity of revenge on a man univerſally deteſted, could not eaſily again occur. In the night a number of whale-boats filled with armed men boarded the ſchooner, and after ſome reſiſtance made themſelves maſters of the veſſel, which they immediately ſet on fire and burnt with all her ſtores; and though a reward of 500l. was offered for the diſcovery of theſe daring offenders, no evidence could be obtained againſt them. This event gave riſe to an act of the Britiſh parliament, by which wilfully and maliciouſly to deſtroy his majeſty's ſhips, ammunition, or *ſtores*, is made capital, and ſubjects the offender, as well in America as England, to a trial at the pleaſure of his majeſty *in any county of Great-Britain.* Such are the progreſſive ſteps by which Tyranny forges his chains, and peoples his dungeons. A government which has loſt the confidence of its ſubjects is urged to oppreſſion not leſs by neceſſity than inclination.

The judges of the ſuperior court of the Maſſachuſetts province, though removeable at the pleaſure of the crown, had hitherto depended on the general aſſembly for the continuance of their ſalaries; but they had now ſalaries ſettled upon them by his majeſty, ſo that the balance of the conſtitution was in this reſpect entirely ſubverted; both the weights of juſtice, as was obſerved, being by this means put into the ſame ſcale. Of all the arbitrary innovations of the Britiſh government, none excited greater reſentment, or was deemed more dangerous, than this. Nothing, indeed, could be more oppoſite to the genius of the Britiſh conſtitution, which regards the independency of the judicial power on the executive as one of the moſt important bulwarks of liberty. Committees of correſpondence had been recently eſtabliſhed in the different towns and townſhips throughout the province; and the ſpirit which now pervaded the continent may be conjectured from the reſolutions paſſed by the municipal bodies, amongſt which, thoſe of the town of Peterſham may be cited as exhibiting a curious ſpecimen of that religious enthuſiaſm by which the inhabitants of New England were once ſo ſtrongly marked, and which combined with political enthuſiaſm—and experience ſhows how eaſily they coaleſce—gives to the human mind, perhaps, the utmoſt momentum and energy of which it is capable. I. Reſolved, that with the governor appointed from Great Britain during pleaſure, with a large ſtipend dependent upon the will of the crown, with all officers, civil and military, ſubject to his appointment or conſent, with a caſtle in the hands of a ſtanding army ſtationed in the very bowels of the land, no people can ever be truly free. II. That the parliament of Great Britain uſurping and exerciſing a legiſlative authority over, and extorting an *unrighteous* revenue from theſe colonies, is againſt all *divine* and human laws. The late appointment of ſalaries to be paid to our ſuperior court judges, whoſe creation, pay, and commiſſion depend on mere will and pleaſure, completes a ſyſtem of bondage equal to any ever fabricated by the combined efforts of the ingenuity, malice, fraud, and wickedneſs of man. III. That it is the opinion of this town, that a deſpotic arbitrary government is the kingdom of this world, as ſet forth in the New Teſtament, and has a direct tendency to ſink a people into a profound ſtate of ignorance and irreligion; and that if we have an eye to our own and poſterity's happineſs, not only in this world but in the world to come, it is our duty to oppoſe ſuch a government. The inhabitants of Peterſham conclude with a declaration, "that it is highly becoming towns and individuals to humble themſelves before Almighty God, ſeriouſly to commune with their own hearts, and ſeek carefully with tears for the cauſes of the prevailing diſtreſſes of the land; and they expreſs their confidence that God will not ſuffer this land, where the goſpel hath flouriſhed, to become a ſlave of the world. He will ſtir up witneſſes of the truth, and in his own time ſpirit his people to ſtand up for his cauſe, and deliver them. In a ſimilar belief that patriot of patriots the great Algernon Sydney lived and died, and dying breathed a like ſentiment and prophecy touching his own and the then approaching times—a prophecy however not accompliſhed until a glorious REVOLUTION." The extravagant and exaggerated language of theſe reſolutions is itſelf a moſt ſtriking evidence of that diſeaſed and dangerous ſtate of the public mind which could prompt theſe effuſions of enthuſiaſtic zeal. By a long ſeries of acts of irritation and oppreſſion on the part of Britain, a ſpirit of reſentment, ſcarcely ſhort of phrenſy, was excited throughout America. All ſeemed to feel the influence of "the madding hour;" and by the natural and determinate operation of a ſyſtem deteſted and deteſtable, a *ſyſtem* by which the preſent reign has been ſo conſpicuouſly and fatally marked, was this change wrought in a loyal, orderly, and peaceable people, diſtinguiſhed above all others, for their love of liberty and hatred of licentiouſneſs—all ranks and conditions of whom gloried in their connection with Britain, rejoiced in her friendſhip and protection, and triumphed in her proſperity.

During the ſeſſion of the Maſſachuſetts aſſembly, in the ſummer of 1773, a diſcovery was made which added freſh fuel to the flame long ſince kindled in that province. The celebrated Dr. Franklin, agent of the houſe of repreſentatives in England, had by ſome unknown means acquired poſſeſſion of certain letters written in confidence by the governor Hutchinſon, the lieutenant governor Oliver, and others, to divers of their friends and correſpondents in England, in which they expreſs themſelves very freely on the ſituation of affairs in America; and their ſentiments are ſuch as might reaſonably be expected from their public conduct. The writers appear to have been men very reſpectable in their private characters; but viewing the tranſactions which were paſſing before them through a thick cloud of prejudice, reſentment, and intereſt, they diſcover an eager ſolicitude that government ſhould adopt more violent, or in their language more vigorous, meaſures in ſupport of its authority; and in their laudable anxiety for the re-eſtabliſhment of order and tranquillity, they ſeemed not in the leaſt to ſuſpect, that of ſuch meaſures a civil war muſt be the inevitable reſult: nor had they the wiſdom or magnanimity to comprehend, that far other ties than military force and imperious edicts were neceſſary to form that bond of connection which could alone reſtore peace and proſperity to the colonies, or render the connection itſelf advantageous or honorable to the mother country. Theſe letters were, by a licenſe which cannot be juſtified, even though prompted by motives the moſt patriotic, tranſmitted by Dr. Franklin to his conſtituents at Boſton, upon whom they made an impreſſion much eaſier to conceive than to deſcribe. "This, ſays Mr. Hutchinſon, in one of his letters, is moſt certainly a criſis. If no meaſures ſhall have been taken to ſecure the dependence of the colonies, beſides ſome declaratory acts and reſolves, it is all over with us. There muſt be an *abridgement* of what are called *Engliſh liberties*; and he lays it down as a maxim, that a colony cannot enjoy all the liberty of the parent ſtate. I wiſh, ſays he, the good of the colony, when I wiſh to ſee ſome *farther reſtraint of liberty* rather than the connection with the parent ſtate ſhould be broken. In another letter he expreſſes his hopes that proviſions for diſſolving the commercial combinations, and for *inflicting penalties* on thoſe who do not renounce them, would be made as ſoon as parliament meets." Mr. Oliver, the lieutenant governor, intimates that the officers of the crown, i. e. the governor, lieutenant governor, and judges, ought to be made independent of the people; for, ſays he, it is a difficult matter to ſerve two maſters. The government, he affirms, has been too weak to ſubdue the turbulent ſpirits. He inſinuates the expediency of "TAKING OFF" thoſe perſons whom he ſtyles "the original incendiaries." He wiſhes for the inſtitution of an order of patricians, and aſſerts the neceſſity of an ALTERATION OF THE CHARTERS." The aſſembly, thrown into a violent flame by the reading of theſe letters, unanimouſly reſolved, "that the tendency and deſign of the ſaid letters was to overthrow the conſtitution of this government, and to introduce arbitrary power into the province;" and a petition was immediately voted to the king, to remove the governor Hutchinſon, and the lieutenant governor Oliver, for ever from the government of the province.

The PETITION being tranſmitted to the agent of the aſſembly, Dr. Franklin, was by him delivered to lord Dartmouth; and on its being preſented to the king, his majeſty ſignified his pleaſure that it ſhould be laid before him in council. On the 29th of January 1774, Dr. Franklin was ſummoned in his official capacity as agent of the province in ſupport of the petition. Mr. Wedderburn, now lord Loughborough and chancellor of Great Britain*, appearing as counſel for the defendants, delivered in that capacity againſt the agent, the houſe of repreſentatives, the

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* 1794.

province of Maſſachuſetts, and the whole continent of America, one of the moſt extraordinary invectives that was on any occaſion perhaps ever heard in the council chamber. "Dr. Franklin, ſaid Mr. Wedderburn, ſtands in the light of the *firſt mover* and *prime conductor* of this whole contrivance againſt his majeſty's two governors: and having, by the help of his own ſpecial confidents and party leaders, firſt made the aſſembly *his* agent in carrying on his own ſecret deſigns, he now appears before your lordſhips to give the finiſhing ſtroke to the work of his own hands. How theſe letters came into poſſeſſion of any one but the right owners, is a myſtery for Dr. Franklin to explain. Your lordſhips know the train of miſchiefs which followed the concealment*. After they had been left for five months to have their full operation, at length comes out a letter, which it is impoſſible to read without horror, expreſſive of the cooleſt and moſt deliberate malevolence. My lords, what poetic fiction only had penned for the breaſt of a cruel African, Dr. Franklin has realized and tranſcribed from his own—His too is the language of a ZANGA.

———Know then 'twas I,
I forged the letter, I diſpoſed the picture:
I hated, I deſpiſed, and I deſtroy.

And he now appears before your lordſhips, wrapped up in impenetrable ſecrecy, to ſupport a charge againſt his majeſty's governor and lieutenant governor, and expects that your lordſhips ſhould adviſe the puniſhing them on account of certain letters which he will not produce, and which he dares not tell how he obtained. Theſe are the leſſons taught in Dr. Franklin's ſchool of politics. With regard to his conſtituents, the factious leaders at Boſton, who make this complaint againſt their governors, if the relating of their evil doings be criminal, and tending to alienate his majeſty's affections, muſt not the doing of them be much more ſo? Yet now they aſk that his majeſty will gratify and reward them for doing theſe things, and that he will puniſh their governors for relating them, becauſe they are ſo very bad that it cannot but offend his majeſty to hear of them." From theſe paſſages ſome judgment may be formed of the general ſtrain of this famous Philippic, which, violating every rule and limit of decorum, ſtands upon record as the groſſeſt inſult ever offered to a great and venerable character, the moſt diſtinguiſhed ornament of his age and country. A wiſe government would have known his value, and been happy to have availed itſelf of his experience and ſagacity; but the counſels of a Franklin under the preſent reign were not likely to preponderate over thoſe of a Hutchinſon. The report of the lords of the council was in a few days afterwards made, the KING's moſt excellent majeſty being preſent, "that the petition in queſtion was founded upon falſe and erroneous allegations, and that the ſame is groundleſs, vexatious, and ſcandalous, and calculated only for the ſeditious purpoſes of keeping up a ſpirit of clamor and diſcontent in the province." And his majeſty was pleaſed, upon taking the ſaid report into conſideration, to approve thereof, and to order the ſaid petition of the aſſembly of Maſſachuſetts to be diſmiſſed accordingly. Such was the mode in which a petition from the firſt provincial legiſlature in the empire, compoſed of men eminent for ability and integrity, was treated by the Britiſh government, which perhaps had never duly pondered the antient maxim of moral and political wiſdom, "that pride goeth before deſtruction, and a haughty ſpirit before a fall." But a matter of higher import, and attended with far more ſerious conſequences, which at this time took place, is now to be related.

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* In conſequence of the tranſmiſſion of theſe letters, a duel was fought between Mr. Whately, brother to the correſpondent of the two governors, and his friend Mr. Temple, who mutually ſuſpected each other of being acceſſary to the communication of them, and in this rencounter Mr. Whately was dangerouſly wounded.

When at a very early period of lord North's adminiſtration the duties on paper, glaſs, and colors were repealed, it has been already remarked, that the duty on TEA was purpoſely left as a mark of legiſlative ſupremacy. The Eaſt India Company finding their ſtock of tea to accumulate in their warehouſes, in conſequence of the loſs of the American market, were very urgent with the miniſter, to repeal the American import duty of three-pence per pound, offering in lieu of it to pay double the ſum on exportation. A fairer opportunity could not occur to terminate the diſpute. As the duty would not have been taken off at the inſtance of the Americans, either in the dread of their reſentment, or in the proſpect of their advantage, it might have been hoped that the moſt ſtrenuous ſtickler for "the dignity of the crown," and "the honor of parliament," whoſe ſleeping and waking dreams had centered ſolely in theſe beloved and darling objects, might at length have baniſhed his perturbations, and preſſed his pillow in peace. This conceſſion, however, the miniſter was not inclined, or, which is far more probable, was not PERMITTED to make; and things remained on this footing, till in the ſeſſion of 1773 the act paſſed for allowing the exportation of TEAS duty-free, and the Company, eager to make a grand effort to relieve themſelves from their difficulties, were buoyed up with the flattering expectation, by becoming their own factors, of regaining poſſeſſion of the American market: for when the teas were actually tranſported acroſs the Atlantic and lodged in warehouſes, the mere circumſtance of their having previouſly paid the import duty would not, it was imagined, impede the Company's ſales. In this idea, however, they were moſt egregiouſly and fatally miſtaken. The Americans conſidered this new attempt in no other light than as an inſidious artifice and colluſion, calculated and deſigned to inveigle them into the payment of this tax, in order to ESTABLISH THE PRECEDENT; and they were firmly and unanimouſly determined that no ſuch project ſhould take effect. Six hundred cheſts were by the Company in purſuance of the late act conſigned to their agent at Boſton, the like quantity to New York and Philadelphia, and in proportion to the other principal ports of the continent. Pennſylvania on this occaſion diſtinguiſhed herſelf by ſetting the firſt example of oppoſition. A general meeting was convened at Philadelphia, in which a ſeries of vigorous reſolutions were paſſed, "declaring this new miniſterial plan of importation to be a violent attack upon the liberties of America, and pronouncing it to be the duty of every American to oppoſe this attempt; and that whoever ſhould directly or indirectly countenance it was an enemy to his country." A committee was then appointed to wait upon the conſignees of the Company, and to *requeſt* their reſignation, which was immediately complied with. At New York, on the arrival of the tea-ſhips in December, they were with difficulty permitted to approach the wharf; and, as at Philadelphia, the conſignees were compelled to relinquiſh their appointments, and the ſhips returned back to England without breaking bulk. At Charleſtown, after much oppoſition and tumult, the tea was permitted to be unloaded, but was immediately lodged in damp unventilated cellars, where it long remained, and finally periſhed. In no place was the delivery of it to the conſignees ſuffered, and in moſt the captains of the India ſhips, on being apprized of the temper and diſpoſition of the people, without any attempt to land wiſely ſet their ſails for England. At Boſton the ſpirit of reſiſtance roſe to a height which made the exceſſes committed elſewhere appear trivial. At a general meeting of the inhabitants, the reſolves of the city of Philadelphia were unanimouſly adopted, and a committee appointed to wait upon the conſignees, to know whether they would reſign their appointments,

ments, which they declared not to be in their power. At a ſucceeding meeting at Faneuil Hall, it was voted with loud acclamations, "that the tea ſhall not be landed, that no duty ſhall be paid, and that it ſhall be ſent back in the ſame bottoms." "We muſt not," ſaid a leading member of the aſſembly, "flatter ourſelves, that popular reſolves, popular ſhouts, or harangues will vanquiſh our foes or terminate our trials. We muſt be ignorant of the power of thoſe who have combined againſt us; we muſt be blind to that malice, inveteracy and revenge which have uniformly actuated their conduct, to hope that we ſhall end this controverſy without the ſharpeſt, conflict. Let us then weigh and conſider, before we determine upon thoſe meaſures which muſt bring on the moſt terrible ſtruggle which this country ever experienced." The queſtion was again put, and paſſed without a negative. On an application from the captain of the Dartmouth Eaſt Indiaman to the governor, for a clearance, he replied, "I cannot give you a paſs conſiſtent with the laws and my duty to the king, unleſs the veſſel is properly qualified from the Cuſtom Houſe." Upon this anſwer being reported to the aſſembly, the meeting was declared to be diſſolved. An immenſe crowd repaired in haſte to the quay, and a number of the moſt reſolute, in the diſguiſe of Mohawk Indians, boarded the veſſels, and in about two hours broke open three hundred and forty-two cheſts of tea, and diſcharged their contents into the ſea. Such was the conſequence of the obſtinacy of the governor, who might have recollected that his predeceſſor Sir Francis Bernard, in a like exigency, granted permits to many ſhips not qualified for want of ſtamps, and that the prudence and propriety of his conduct had never been called in queſtion. But the preſent governor had long been the urgent advocate for meaſures of coercion on the part of Great Britain, and was probably not diſpleaſed to ſee matters tending to a criſis: and, in a ſubſequent declaration, he aſſigned ſomewhat unwarily as one of the reaſons for this refuſal, "that by a compliance with the demand of the people *he ſhould have rendered himſelf* OBNOXIOUS *to his* SOVEREIGN." This undoubtedly is the MASTER-KEY which unfolds all the apparent abſurdities and extravagancies of his conduct. The temper of the Britiſh court was ſo well underſtood in America, that no one preſumed to hope they would be induced, by this determined and inflexible ſpirit of oppoſition in the colonies, to deſiſt from their ruinous projects. On the contrary, meaſures of vengeance were confidently expected; and even perſons of acknowledged moderation, on perceiving the ideas which they had long cheriſhed of reconciliation to be hopeleſs, declared their reſolution, in caſe matters were carried to extremity by Great Britain, to join the ſtandard of their countrymen. A major of provincials, who had been foreman of the jury on the trial of capt. Preſton, and to whom, in reward of his meritorious conduct, the governor had given this commiſſion, ſaid to him with unexpected energy, " Sir, you know that I am a friend to government, and wiſh to ſupport it; but if any attempt be made to violate our CHARTER, I will fight up to my knees in blood in defence of it."

On the meeting of the general court of Maſſachuſetts, A. D. 1774, the houſe of repreſentatives ſeemed in no reſpect diſpoſed to recede from the higheſt claims and pretenſions they had formed. On the contrary, they, by a new aſſumption of authority, determined upon an impeachment of the chief juſtice Oliver, for refuſing to relinquiſh the ſalary ſettled upon him by the crown—which, combined with the hope of its augmentation, they affirmed "muſt have the effect of a perpetual bribe, and expoſe him to the violation of his oath—that the acceptance of this ſalary, unprecedented in all former times, was a breach of his implied engagements on entering into his office; and that by receiving a grant payable out of the revenue unjuſtly extorted from the American colonies, he had given a ſanction to injuſtice, counteracted the petitions of the people, and wickedly endeavoured to increaſe the diſcontents and jealouſies which had originated from this grievance." The governor refuſing to receive the accuſation, no other effect reſulted from it than to render the governor and the chief juſtice more obnoxious, and to keep alive the ſpirit of animoſity and reſiſtance.

On the 13th of January, 1774, the parliament of Great Britain was convened at Weſtminſter. The miniſtry not being as yet in poſſeſſion of full information from America, the Speech from the throne obſerved a profound ſilence relative to the late tranſactions; but on the 7th of March a meſſage was delivered from his majeſty to both houſes of parliament, informing them, that, "in conſequence of the unwarrantable practices carried on in North America, and particularly of the violent and outrageous proceedings at the town and port of Boſton, with a view of obſtructing the commerce of this kingdom, and upon grounds and pretences immediately ſubverſive of its conſtitution, it was thought fit to lay the whole matter before parliament—recommending it to their ſerious conſideration what farther regulations or permanent proviſions might be neceſſary to be eſtabliſhed." Lord North, who preſented the meſſage, laid at the ſame time before the houſe of commons a great number of papers, which ſufficiently ſhewed the daring and ſeditious ſpirit which now prevailed over the whole continent of America. His lordſhip, on enlarging upon theſe *documents*, repreſented the conduct of the inhabitants of Boſton in the moſt atrocious light. He aſſerted that the utmoſt *lenity* on the part of the governor, PERHAPS TOO MUCH, had been already ſhewn, and that this town, by its late proceedings, had left government perfectly at liberty to adopt any meaſures they ſhould think convenient, not only for redreſſing the wrong ſuſtained by the Eaſt India company, but for inflicting ſuch puniſhment as their factious and criminal conduct merited; and that the aid of parliament would be reſorted to for this purpoſe, and for vindicating the *dignity of the crown*, ſo daringly and wantonly attacked, and contemned." The ſpeech of the miniſter was received with great applauſe, and the houſe appeared clearly and unanimouſly of opinion, that firm and vigorous meaſures were at this criſis abſolutely neceſſary. It was then moved, "that an addreſs of thanks ſhould be preſented to the king, aſſuring his majeſty, that they would not fail to exert every means in their power of effectually providing for the due execution of the laws, and ſecuring the dependance of the colonies upon the crown and parliament of Great Britain." This excited ſome faint ſhew of oppoſition, and it was remarked, "that ſimilar aſſurances had been already often repeated, but that the meaſures hitherto adopted by miniſters for the ſupport and DIGNITY OF THE CROWN had only expoſed it to ſcorn, obloquy, and contempt. That the preſent caſe was of the utmoſt importance they admitted, and it required therefore an attentive and impartial examination. In order to do the Americans juſtice it was neceſſary to trace the ſource of theſe calamities to their origin, in a ſyſtem of arbitrary and unwiſe meaſures at home." No inclination however appeared to enter into any retroſpective inveſtigations, and the addreſs was finally agreed to, and preſented to the king.

In a ſhort time the miniſter began to develop his grand plan of coercion and puniſhment, by the introduction of a bill for diſcontinuing the lading and ſhipping of goods, wares, and merchandize at the town of Boſton or the harbor thereof; and for the removal of the cuſtom houſe, &c. to the town of Salem. This bill was to continue in force, not only till full and ample compenſation was made to the Eaſt India company for the damage ſuſtained by them, but till the king in council ſhould declare himſelf ſatisfied as to the reſtoration of peace and good order in the town. This bill was honored with the general approbation of the houſe; and it was unavailingly urged by a few individuals, that the penal clauſes of the bill ſhould be carried into execution only on the proviſo of a refuſal to indemnify the company on the part of the town. Such was the indignation excited by the late atrocious violation of the laws, that the houſe appeared reluctant to liſten to any palliative arguments or perſuaſives to moderation; and it muſt indeed be acknowledged that the empire was now, by unexampled indiſcretion, brought into a fearful and hazardous dilemma. Good policy evidently ſuggeſted conciliation as the grand object which ought not for a moment to be loſt ſight of. It was firſt, and laſt, and midſt, in every generous and reflecting mind; but then this conciliation ought not to be accompanied with any real degradation on the part of Great Britain. It was not leſs for the advantage of America than of Britain, that the juſt and conſtitutional authority of the mother country, upon the antient and eſtabliſhed principles of ſuperiority and ſubordination, ſhould be maintained. To paſs over ſuch enormities, as had now taken place, without notice or animadverſion, would indeed have been a dereliction of that authority; but great caution was neceſſary, now that the paſſions were awakened, ſo to temper juſtice with lenity, as to demonſtrate that the deciſions of the ſupreme power of the empire were neither tinctured with the meanneſs of malice nor the folly of revenge. Had the penal clauſes of the Boſton port-bill been properly modified, and the duty on tea, which had given riſe to theſe fatal contentions, at the ſame time repealed, that is no doubt but a compenſation to the company would have been immediately voted, the honor of government would have been maintained, and a ſure foundation laid for a permanent reconciliation. But how rarely are the reſolutions adopted in anger founded in wiſdom! The idea of this repeal was ſuggeſted in the houſe of commons, but repreſſed with ineffable diſdain, and the bill paſſed both houſes without a diviſion.

Very ſoon after this, a ſecond bill was introduced by the miniſter, for the better regulating the government of the province of Maſſachuſetts bay. By this bill the charter of the province was entirely ſubverted, and the nomination of the counſellors, judges, and magiſtrates of all kinds, including ſheriffs, was veſted in the crown, and all thoſe officers made removeable at PLEASURE. This bill the miniſter affirmed to be abſolutely neceſſary, for preventing the reſt of the colonies from being tainted by the ſeditious example of Maſſachuſetts Bay. The oppoſition now ſeemed to riſe into ſome degree of firmneſs and vigor. It was aſked, whether the colonies already regulated neareſt to the manner propoſed by this bill, were more ſubmiſſive to the right of taxation than Maſſachuſett's? It was aſſerted that the diſorder lay much deeper than in any diverſities that ſubſiſted in the colonial forms of Government; that the people throughout the whole extent of that vaſt continent were univerſally diſſatisfied, and the uneaſineſs and reſiſtance were no leſs in the royal governments than in any other. By an invaſion of the charter, the cauſe of Maſſachuſetts will be made the common cauſe of all the colonies, who have no other or better ſecurity for the continuance of their own." It was finally carried by a prodigious majority of 239 againſt 64 voices, May 2, 1774. In the houſe of lords the bill did not paſs without the ſevereſt ſtrictures; the final diviſion on the general queſtion was 92 to 20, and an animated and excellent proteſt againſt it was ſigned by eleven peers, amongſt whom were the dukes of Richmond and Portland, and the marquis of Rockingham. "Before the rights of the colony of Maſſachuſetts Bay, which they derive from their charter, are taken away, the definite legal offence by which a forfeiture of that charter is incurred," ſay their lordſhips, "ought to have been clearly ſtated, and the parties heard in their own defence; and the mere celerity of a deciſion againſt it will not reconcile the minds of the people to that mode of government which is to be eſtabliſhed upon its ruins. On the general allegations of a declaratory preamble, the rights of any public body may be taken away, and any viſionary ſcheme of government ſubſtituted in their place. By this bill, the governor and council are inveſted with dangerous powers, unknown to the Britiſh conſtitution, and with which the king himſelf is not intruſted. By the appointment and removal of the ſheriff at pleaſure, they have the means of returning ſuch juries as may beſt ſuit with the gratification of their paſſions and intereſts; the life, liberty, and property of the ſubject are put into their hands without control. The weak, injudicious, and inconſiſtent meaſures of the miniſtry have given new force to the diſtractions of America, which on the repeal of the ſtamp act were ſubſiding; have revived dangerous queſtions, and gradually eſtranged the affections of the colonies from the mother country. To render the colonies *permanently advantageous*, they muſt be SATISFIED WITH THEIR CONDITION! that ſatisfaction there is no chance of reſtoring, but by recurring to the principles on which the repeal of the ſtamp act was founded."

The next ſtep was, to bring in a bill for the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice in the province of Maſſachuſetts bay. This bill provided, that in caſe any perſon was indicted in that province for murder or any other capital offence, and it ſhould appear by information given on oath to the governor, that the fact was committed in the exerciſe or aid of magiſtracy in ſuppreſſing riots, and that a fair trial could not be had in the province, he ſhould ſend the perſon ſo indicted to any other colony, or to *Great Britain*, to be tried; the act to continue in force four years. This was the counter-part of the obſolete and tyrannical act of Henry VIII. lately revived for the trial in Great Britain of treaſons committed in America. As that was intended for the puniſhment of the enemies of government, this was deſigned for the impunity of its friends. The oppoſition to this bill in both houſes, though it finally paſſed by great majorities, was warm and vigorous. "By this bill," ſaid colonel Barré, at the cloſe of an admirable ſpeech, "you are offering the laſt of human outrages to the people in America, by ſubjecting them in effect to military execution: inſtead of ſending them the olive branch, you have ſent the naked ſword. What madneſs is it that prompts you to attempt obtaining that by force, which may be with ſo much more facility and certainty procured by requiſition? Retract your odious exertions of authority, and remember that the firſt ſtep towards making them contribute to your wants, is to reconcile them to your government." A proteſt, not leſs ſpirited than the former, was entered againſt it in the houſe of lords. "This bill," ſaid the proteſting peers, "after the proſcription of the port of Boſton, the disfranchiſement of the colony of Maſſachuſetts Bay, and the variety of proviſions which have been made in this ſeſſion for new-modelling the whole polity and judicature of this province, is an humiliating confeſſion of the weakneſs and inefficacy of all the proceedings of parliament. By ſuppoſing that it may be impracticable, by any means that the public wiſdom could deviſe, to obtain a fair trial there for any who act under government, the houſe is made virtually to acknowledge the Britiſh government to be univerſally odious to the whole province, and to the whole continent. This bill ſeems to be one of the many experiments towards an introduction of eſſential innovations into the government of this empire. The virtual indemnity provided by this bill for thoſe who ſhall be indicted for murders committed under color of office, can anſwer no other purpoſe. We conſider that to be an indemnity which renders trial and conſequently puniſhment impracticable; and trial is impracticable when the very governor, under whoſe authority acts of violence may be committed, is empowered to ſend the inſtruments of that violence to 3000 miles diſtance from the ſcene of their offence, the reach of their proſecutor, and the local evidence which may tend to their conviction."

It was a wonted ſaying of the famous Sir Francis Walſingham, "that a ſtateſman muſt obſerve the joints and flexures of affairs;" but this was a ſpecies of knowledge which the miniſters of George III. diſdained to ſtudy. All things muſt, at all events, bend to their will; and if no "joints or flexures" were diſcernible, the reſiſtance was to be overcome by acts and inſtruments of political torture.

This bill being paſſed, and the receſs approaching, many members were about to retire into the country, when their attention was recalled to another bill, for making more effectual proviſion for the government of the province of Quebec. It paſſed through the houſe of lords, where it originated, with unexpected facility; but met with an oppoſition in the houſe of commons more vehement than any of the former. The principal objects of the bill were, to aſcertain the limits of the province, which were now extended far beyond thoſe ſettled by the proclamation of 1763, including that vaſt tract of territory ſouthward of the lakes, and bordering upon the great rivers Ohio and Miſſiſippi; to eſtabliſh a legiſlative council, the counſellors to be appointed by the crown, and the office to be held during pleaſure; to confirm the French laws and a trial without jury in civil caſes; the Engliſh laws and a trial by jury in criminal; to ſecure to the Roman catholic clergy the legal enjoyment of their tythes from all who were of their own religion. The revenue of the province was conſigned in the firſt inſtance to the board of treaſury, for the ſupport of an unlimited civil liſt and the adminiſtration of juſtice; the judges holding their office and ſalaries during pleaſure. Thus the government of Quebec was converted into a legal deſpotiſm, committed by parliament into the hands of the crown; and a ſtriking proof was exhibited to the world, what the other provinces of America had to expect, when reduced to *a loyal and dutiful* ſubmiſſion. The proviſion made by this act for the roman catholic clergy, occaſioned a conſiderable degree of odium and unpopularity to attend it without doors; but the zealous friends of liberty with grief and aſtoniſhment perceived, that the public at large not only acquieſced in, but approved and applauded the meaſures now adopted for the ſubjugation and enſlavement of America. So true is it, that a nation, which would riſque every thing to ſecure its own liberty, may be not the leſs inclined, upon that account, to domineer and tyrannnize over others.

Lord Chatham's ſtate of health, during the two preceding ſeſſions, had precluded him from making any conſiderable parliamentary exertions, and he had rarely attended the houſe on any occaſion; but, finding himſelf at this period ſomewhat relieved from the preſſure of his complaints, he took the opportunity, on the third reading of the bill for quartering ſoldiers in America, to lay before the houſe and the public his thoughts on this bill, and on American affairs in general, in a ſpeech worthy of his diſtinguiſhed talents and illuſtrious reputation. "If," ſaid he, "my lords, we take a tranſient view of thoſe motives which induced the anceſtors of our fellow-ſubjects in America to leave their native country, to encounter the innumerable difficulties of the unexplored regions of the weſtern world, our aſtoniſhment at the preſent conduct of their deſcendants will naturally ſubſide. There was no corner of the globe to which they would not have fled, rather than ſubmit to the ſlaviſh and tyrannical ſpirit which prevailed at that period in their native country; and viewing them in their originally forlorn and now flouriſhing ſtate, they may be cited as illuſtrious inſtances to ſhew what great exertions mankind will naturally make, when left to the free exerciſe of their own powers. Notwithſtanding my intention to give my hearty negative to the queſtion now before you, I condemn, my lords, in the ſevereſt manner, the turbulent and unwarrantable conduct of the Americans in ſome inſtances, particularly in the late riots at Boſton; but, my lords, the mode which has been purſued to bring them back to a ſenſe of their duty, is ſo diametrically oppoſite to every principle of ſound policy, as to excite my utmoſt aſtoniſhment. You have involved the guilty and the innocent in one common puniſhment, and avenge the crime of a few lawleſs depredators upon the whole body of the inhabitants. My lords, the different provinces of America, in the ſtamp act, ſeemed to vie with each other in expreſſions of loyalty and duty; but the moment they perceived that your intention to tax them was renewed, under a pretence of ſerving the Eaſt India company, their reſentment got the aſcendent of their moderation, and hurried them into actions, which their cooler reaſon would abhor. But, my lords, from the whole complexion of the late proceedings, I cannot but incline to think, that adminiſtration has purpoſely irritated them into theſe violent acts, in order to gratify their own malice and revenge. What elſe could induce them to dreſs Taxation, the father of American ſedition, in the robes of an Eaſt-India director, but to break in upon that mutual peace and harmony which then ſo happily ſubſiſted between the colonies and mother country? My lords, it has always been my fixed and unalterable opinion, and I will carry it with me to the grave, that this country had no right under heaven to tax America. It is contrary to all the principles of juſtice and civil policy: it is contrary to that eſſential, unalterable right in nature, ingrafted into the Britiſh conſtitution as a fundamental law, that what a man has honeſtly acquired is abſolutely his own, which he may freely give, but which cannot be taken from him without his conſent. Paſs then, my lords, inſtead of theſe harſh and ſevere edicts, an amneſty over their errors; by meaſures of lenity and affection allure them to their duty; act the part of a generous and forgiving parent. A period may arrive, when this parent may ſtand in need of every aſſiſtance ſhe can receive from a grateful and affectionate offspring.

The welfare of this country, my lords, has ever been my greateſt joy, and under all the viciſſitudes of my life has afforded me the moſt pleaſing conſolation. Should the all-diſpoſing hand of Providence prevent me from contributing my poor and feeble aid in the day of her diſtreſs, my prayers ſhall be ever for her proſperity:—“Length of days be in her right hand, and in her left hand riches and honor! May her ways be ways of pleaſantneſs, and all her paths be peace!”

The only effort of a nature directly conciliatory in the courſe of the preſent ſeſſion, was made by Mr. Roſe Fuller, member for Rye, who on the 19th April (1774) moved, that the houſe reſolve itſelf into a committee, to take into conſideration the duty on the importation of teas into America, and the appropriation of the ſame, with a view to its repeal. This motion was ſeconded and powerfully ſupported by Mr. Edmund Burke, in an elaborate ſpeech, which excited very conſiderable attention. This gentleman had, from the period of his firſt introduction to the houſe of commons, as confidential ſecretary to lord Rockingham, during the adminiſtration of that nobleman, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the ſuperiority and ſplendor of his parliamentary talents; and he might at this time be conſidered as the principal organ through which the political ſentiments were communicated of that once widely extended and potent connection of whigs, of which lord Rockingham had, ſince the death of the duke of Newcaſtle, been conſidered the head. The tide of power, of fortune, and of royal favor, having long ſince flowed in a different channel, this party had been gradually deſerted by many of their *ſummer friends*, but ſtill remained highly reſpectable from the firm conjunction of various families of the firſt diſtinction, who had ever been numbered amongſt the moſt zealous adherents of the revolution, and proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover. The ſimple, unaffected, and unaſſuming manners of the marquis of Rockingham were contraſted in his repreſentative Mr. Burke, whoſe deportment was lofty and ſupercilious, and whoſe ſpeeches in parliament were for the moſt part characterized by a florid, diffuſive, and oſtentatious ſtyle of eloquence, ill-adapted to the inveſtigation of truth; calculated rather to dazzle than inform, abounding with vanity and egotiſm, and apparently intended not ſo much to exhibit the merits of the cauſe as the abilities of the ſpeaker. Nevertheleſs, they diſplayed a great extent of knowledge; they were enlivened with frequent flaſhes of wit; they were illumined with much brilliancy of alluſion and metaphor, and adorned with burſts of oratory, bold, beautiful, and ſublime. During the lifetime of the marquis of Rockingham, he appeared, not indeed without ſome remarkable deviations, to adhere with laudable zeal to the genuine principles of Whiggiſm: but from the lamented deceaſe of that diſtinguiſhed nobleman, he became on a ſudden very capricious and eccentric in his conduct; and his judgment being naturally weak, and his paſſions proportionally violent and habitually indulged, the force of his genius in other reſpects has unfortunately only plunged him, in the latter years of his life, deeper into the abyſſes of abſurdity and extravagance.

In the courſe of Mr. Burke's ſpeech on the preſent motion, he took occaſion to draw the political portraits of ſeveral perſonages, who had, during the preſent reign, occupied the higheſt departments of the ſtate. "To Mr. George Grenville, with whom the new colony ſyſtem had originated, he affirmed that this country owed in other reſpects great obligation. He had, as Mr. Burke believed, a very ſerious deſire to benefit the public; but with no ſmall ſtudy of the detail, he did not ſeem to have equally carried his view to the total circuit of affairs. He generally conſidered his objects in lights too much detached. This *great perſon* was bred to the law, a ſcience rather calculated to invigorate than liberalize the underſtanding. Paſſing from that ſtudy, he did not go very largely into the world, but plunged into buſineſs; the buſineſs of office. But men too much converſant in office rarely poſſeſs minds of remarkable enlargement. Perſons nurtured in the forms and habits of office do admirably well as long as things go on in their common order; but when the high roads are broken up, when the waters are out, when a new and troubled ſcene is opened, *and the file affords no precedent*, then it is that a greater knowledge of mankind, and a far more extenſive comprehenſion of things are requiſite than ever office gave, or than office can ever give. He ſaid, that in 1765, being in a very private ſtation, unknowing and unknown, it was his fortune to become connected with a very noble perſon, the marquis of Rockingham, then at the head of the treaſury department; and that he was placed in a ſituation, which enabled him to diſcern in that noble perſon ſuch ſound principles, ſuch an enlargement of mind, ſuch clear and ſagacious ſenſe, and ſuch unſhaken fortitude, as had bound him, as well as others much better than him, by an inviolable attachment. The queſtion of the repeal of the ſtamp act was brought on by the marquis, in the very inſtant when it was known that negotiations were carrying on between the court and the leaders of oppoſition. In the midſt of a chaos of plots and counter plots, of warfare againſt public oppoſition and private treachery, it was that the firmneſs of this noble perſon was put to the proof. Every thing was full of traps and mines; earth below ſhook; Heaven above menaced. All the elements of miniſterial ſafety were diſſolved; yet he remained fixed and determined in principle, in meaſure, and in conduct. He practiſed no management, he ſought no apology, he ſecured no retreat; but on the concluſion of an enquiry which laſted ſix weeks, by a noble, ſpirited, and unexpected majority, in the teeth of all the old mercenary Swiſs of ſtate, in defiance of the whole embattled legion of veteran penſioners and practiſed inſtruments of a court, gave a total repeal to the ſtamp act, and, if it had been ſo permitted, a laſting peace to the empire." Of lord Chatham Mr. Burke ſaid, that "the venerable age of this great man, his merited rank, his ſuperior eloquence, his ſplendid qualities, his eminent ſervices, the vaſt ſpace he filled in the eye of mankind, forbade him to cenſure his conduct; and to flatter him he was afraid. Let thoſe who have betrayed him by their adulation, inſult him by their malevolence. For a wiſe miniſter, however, ſpeaking with the freedom of hiſtory, Mr. Burke ſaid, he muſt ſurely be acknowledged to have adopted meaſures greatly miſchievous to himſelf, perhaps for that reaſon fatal to his country; MEASURES, the effects of which are, I am afraid, FOR EVER INCURABLE. He made an adminiſtration ſo checquered and ſpeckled; he put together a piece of joinery ſo cloſely indented, and whimſically dove-tailed; a cabinet ſo variouſly inlaid, ſuch a piece of diverſified moſaic, ſuch a teſſelated pavement without cement, here a bit of black ſtone and there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers, king's friends and republicans, whigs and tories, treacherous friends and open enemies; that it was indeed a very curious ſhow, but utterly unſafe to touch, and unſure to ſtand on. When his face was hid but for a moment, his whole ſyſtem was on a wide ſea, without chart or compaſs, whirled about, the ſport of every guſt; and thoſe of the mariners who were moſt directly oppoſite to his opinions, being by far the moſt artful and powerful of the ſet, ſeizing the helm, turned the veſſel wholly out of the courſe of his policy." The houſe were much *amuſed* with theſe ingenious repreſentations; but no other effect was produced, the numbers on the diviſion being 184 to 51. The ſeſſion ended June 21, 1774, and his majeſty's ſpeech contained a very high eulogium on the meaſures which had been adopted for the purpoſe of reclaiming his *deluded ſubjects*; and on the temper, firmneſs, and unanimity, which had been diſplayed in the deliberations of parliament, which *could not fail* of giving them the greateſt weight. Indeed, ſuch was the elation of the court and its partiſans at this period, that

America ſeemed in their apprehenſion already ſubdued, and a complete victory obtained before the battle was begun.

Governor Hutchinſon, by whoſe advice the king and his miniſters had been chiefly guided, and who gave the moſt poſitive aſſurances, that a ſpeedy and general ſubmiſſion would be the conſequence of the meaſures which he recommended, had been for ſome time paſt in England; and general Gage, already commander of the troops ſtationed at Boſton, was appointed governor of the province. He arrived in that city in the month of May 1774, and was received with that dead and melancholy ſilence which portended a tremendous ſtorm. The intelligence of the Boſton port bill had been recently received; and on the day ſucceeding the arrival of the governor, a general meeting of the inhabitants was convened, in order to take it into conſideration. At this meeting, a reſolution was paſſed, expreſſive of their ideas of the impolicy, injuſtice, and barbarity of the bill, and inviting the other colonies to join with them in a general agreement, to put a ſtop to all exportation and importation to Great Britain and the Weſt Indies till it ſhould be repealed. Addreſſes from Virginia, Pennſylvania, the Carolinas, New York, and the other provinces, in a ſhort time arrived, exhorting them, with many expreſſions of affection and ſympathy, to reſolution and perſeverance; and declaring, that they conſidered Boſton as ſuffering in the common cauſe. One ſpirit, one undivided ſentiment, of pity, indignation, and revenge, rouſed and pervaded all. A general congreſs became the object of univerſal deſire; and Philadelphia being judged commodiouſly ſituated for the purpoſe, it was convened to meet in that city on the 1ſt of September, and in the mean time combinations were every where entered into to ſuſpend all commercial intercourſe with Great Britain; and renouncing all communication with thoſe who ſhould refuſe to ſign this covenant, notwithſtanding a proclamation from general Gage, ſtyling ſuch agreement an unlawful, hoſtile, and traitorous combination.

nation. An addreſs being preſented to him by the municipality of Boſton, in which the rights of the colonies were aſſerted in a high and reſolute tone, the governor would not deign to hear it read to the end, declaring it to be an inſult to his majeſty and his government.

On the 25th of May, 1774, the new general court met as uſual at Boſton, when general Gage gave them notice of their removal to Salem by the late act. The aſſembly haſtening the public buſineſs, in order to evade this neceſſity, the governor adjourned the court to the 7th of June, then to meet at Salem. The firſt buſineſs after this adjournment on the ſubſequent meeting at Salem, was to appoint deputies to meet thoſe of the other colonies in general congreſs at Philadelphia. The governor, having received intimation of this deſign, diſpatched his ſecretary with the greateſt precipitation to diſſolve the court, but, on his arrival, he found the doors faſt locked: and knocking aloud for entrance, he was informed, that the houſe was upon very important buſineſs, and till it was finiſhed he could not be admitted. On which he read the proclamation of diſſolution on the ſtairs leading to the hall of the aſſembly; but the nomination of deputies being previouſly made, this was conſidered as an important advantage gained againſt the governor.

It was a part of the artful and malignant plan of the Britiſh miniſters in framing the Boſton port bill, by removing the commerce of that metropolis to Salem, and making it the ſeat of government, to eſtabliſh a rivalſhip and enmity between thoſe two places, from which they hoped to derive mighty advantages. But the magnanimous ſpirit by which the Americans were at this period univerſally actuated, diſcovered itſelf very conſpicuouſly in an addreſs preſented by the merchants and freeholders of the town of Salem, to the governor, the day ſucceeding the diſſolution of the general court. "We are," ſay they, "moſt deeply afflicted with a ſenſe of our public calamities:—

ties:—by ſhutting up the port of Boſton, ſome imagine that the courſe of trade might be turned hither, and to our benefit; but nature, in the formation of our harbor, forbids our becoming rivals in commerce with that convenient mart; and were it otherwiſe, we muſt be dead to every idea of juſtice, and loſt to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought to ſeize on wealth, and raiſe our fortunes on the ruin of our ſuffering neighbors." Marblehead, a ſea-port in the vicinity of Boſton, vying in generoſity with Salem, offered the merchants of that city the free uſe of its wharfs and ſtores. The unparallelled injuſtice and cruelty of this bill were the topics of univerſal execration; it was ſaid "to be ſo conſtituted, that enormous pains and penalties muſt enſue, notwithſtanding the moſt perfect obedience to its injunctions; as the port could not be again opened but by his majeſty in council, in conſequence of a previous certificate from the governor. Thoſe charged with the moſt aggravated crimes are not puniſhable till arraigned before diſintereſted judges, heard in their own defence, and found guilty of the charge. But here a whole people are accuſed, proſecuted by they know not whom, proved guilty they know not how, and ſentenced to inevitable ruin."

The rough drafts of the bills for altering the charter of Maſſachuſetts; for the *impartial* adminiſtration of juſtice; and another for providing quarters for troops in America, arriving about this time at Boſton, were inſtantly circulated through the continent, and filled up what was before wanting of violence and indignation in the ſeveral colonies. Even thoſe who were moderate, or apparently wavering, now became reſolute and reſentful. The people at large expreſſed without reſerve their conviction, that the æra was faſt approaching when it would be neceſſary for them to defend their rights with the edge of the ſword. The colonial militia laws required every citizen to bear arms within a certain age; they were in general fond of military exerciſes, and abounded in excellent markſmen. They were now with great diligence employed in training and perfecting themſelves in military evolutions and manœuvres. The ſound of drums and fifes every where ſaluted the ear. Parents and children, huſbands and lovers, the young and the old, were poſſeſſed by the ſame martial ſpirit, and were fired with the ſame glorious and enthuſiaſtic zeal for liberty. Nothing was to be ſeen or heard of but purchaſing of arms and ammunition, caſting of balls, and the making of all thoſe preparations which teſtify the moſt immediate danger and determined reſiſtance.

Soon after the arrival of general Gage, two additional regiments of foot, with a detachment of artillery and cannon, were landed at Boſton, and encamped on the common. Theſe troops were by degrees re-inforced by the arrival of ſeveral regiments from Ireland, New-York, Halifax, and at length from Quebec. The town of Boſton is connected with the continent by a narrow iſthmus of conſiderable length, on which a military guard was placed, and the entrance of the neck fortified by order of government; and ſo little intercourſe ſubſiſted between the city and the country, that the garriſon found it already difficult to procure the means of ſubſiſtence. With the charter bill, the governor received a liſt of thirty-ſix counſellors, appointed by royal mandamus, twelve of whom declined to ſerve. The courts of judicature were totally ſuſpended, the jurors refuſing to take the oaths, and to act under the new judges and laws. In many counties the people aſſembled in large bodies, and took poſſeſſion of the court-houſes, and would ſuffer neither judges, ſheriffs, nor clerks to enter. All perſons accepting offices under the new acts were declared enemies to their country. The mandamus counſellors, the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms, and all who had made themſelves particularly obnoxious by their activity in ſeconding the meaſures of government, were compelled to take refuge in Boſton. The ſeat of government at Salem was entirely abandoned, and government itſelf ſeemed no longer to exiſt.

At length the general congreſs, on which all America had their eyes now fixed, met at Philadelphia for the firſt time, September 4, 1774. This aſſembly conſiſted of fifty-one members, delegated in ſuch proportions from the different colonies as correſponded with their varied extent and population, though each colony had a diſtinct and ſeparate vote. Amongſt their firſt reſolves they paſſed an unanimous vote, that this aſſembly deeply feels the ſufferings of their countrymen in the Maſſachuſetts, under the operation of the late unjuſt, cruel, and oppreſſive acts of the Britiſh parliament; that they moſt thoroughly approve the wiſdom and fortitude with which their oppoſition to thoſe meaſures has been conducted; and they truſt that the united efforts of America in their behalf will carry conviction to the Britiſh nation of the unwiſe, unjuſt, and ruinous policy of the preſent adminiſtration. But if the late acts of parliament ſhall be attempted to be caried into execution by force, in ſuch caſes all America ought to ſupport the inhabitants of the Maſſachuſetts Bay in their oppoſition. The congreſs alſo publiſhed a declaration of rights, to which they conceived themſelves entitled by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the Engliſh conſtitution, and their ſeveral charters or compacts. After a ſpecification of theſe rights, and an enumeration of the recent violations of them, they mention, that, in hopes of being reſtored to that ſtate in which both countries formerly found happineſs and proſperity, they have for the preſent only reſolved to purſue the following peaceable meaſures, viz. to enter into a non-importation, non-conſumption, and non-exportation agreement; and to prepare an addreſs to the people of Great Britain, a memorial to the inhabitants of Britiſh America, and a loyal and humble petition to his majeſty. All theſe different addreſſes and declarations were drawn up with great ability, prudence, and moderation. They call upon the people of Great Britain to witneſs their loyalty and attachment to the common intereſts of the empire; they appeal to their own acknowledgment of this truth, manifeſted by the reimburſement of large ſums of money which they had advanced during the late war, with zeal far beyond their proportional ability. They then proceed to ſtate and examine the meaſures of government, and the acts of the Britiſh parliament, which they conſider as hoſtile to America. They adduce ſtrong arguments to ſhew that the final ſucceſs of the miniſterial plans would in the end be as fatal to the liberties of Britain as to thoſe of America. "Place us," ſay they, "in the ſame ſituation that we were in at the cloſe of the laſt war, and our former harmony will be reſtored." In the memorial to the inhabitants of Britiſh America, they deeply deplore the neceſſity which preſſed them to an immediate interruption of commerce, and apologize by ſaying, "We are driven by the hands of violence into unexperienced and unexpected public convulſions, and are contending for freedom ſo often contended for by our anceſtors." Towards the cloſe they have theſe words: "We think ourſelves bound in duty to obſerve to you, that the ſchemes agitated againſt theſe colonies have been ſo conducted as to render it prudent that you ſhould extend your views to the moſt unhappy events, and be in all reſpects prepared for every contingency."

But the congreſs ſeemed to reſerve their chief ſtrength for the addreſs to the KING, which is penned with extraordinary force and animation, in many parts riſing to a very high ſtrain of eloquence. They expreſs their "confidence, that as his majeſty enjoys the ſignal diſtinction of reigning over freemen, the language of freemen cannot be diſpleaſing:" adding, "your royal indignation, we hope, will rather fall on thoſe deſigning and dangerous men, who, daringly interpoſing themſelves between your royal perſon and your faithful ſubjects, have at length compelled us by the force of accumulated injuries to diſturb your majeſty's repoſe by our complaints." They aſſure his majeſty, that for the ſupport of civil government, and the adminiſtration of juſtice, ſuch proviſion has been, and will be made by the colonial legiſlatures as may be judged ſuitable to their reſpective circumſtances.

They affirm, that for their defence, protection, and ſecurity in time of peace, their militias, if properly regulated, would be fully ſufficient; and in caſe of war, his faithful coloniſts will be ready and willing, as they have ever been when conſtitutionally required, to demonſtrate their loyalty, by exerting their moſt ſtrenuous efforts in granting ſupplies and raiſing forces. They ſay, "we aſk but for peace, liberty, and ſafety. We wiſh not a diminution of the prerogative, nor do we ſolicit the grant of any new right in our favor. In the magnanimity and juſtice of your majeſty and parliament we confide for a redreſs of our grievances, truſting that when the cauſes of our apprehenſions are removed, our future conduct will prove us not unworthy of the regard we have been accuſtomed in our happier days to enjoy. And appealing to that Being who ſearches thoroughly the hearts of his creatures, we ſolemnly profeſs that our counſels have been influenced by no other motive than a dread of impending deſtruction. We implore therefore your majeſty, as the loving father of all your people, connected by the ſame bands of law, loyalty, faith, and blood, not to ſuffer the tranſcendent relation formed by theſe ties to be further violated in uncertain expectation of effects, which, if attained, never can compenſate for the calamities through which they muſt be gained. So may your majeſty enjoy every temporal felicity throughout a long and glorious reign, and your deſcendants inherit your proſperity and dominions till time ſhall be no more." It is difficult to conceive how this addreſs could be read without exciting, in the breaſts even of the moſt obdurate, ſtrong emotions of compunction and remorſe; but there are thoſe who have hearts and underſtandings upon which no impreſſion can be made by any effort of human reaſon, and who can reſolutely "turn a deaf ear to the voice of the charmer, charm he never ſo wiſely."

In a ſubſequent addreſs to the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Canada, the congreſs with perſpicuity and energy ſtate to the Canadians the rights enjoyed under that conſtitution from which by the late act they are debarred. "Theſe rights," ſay they, "defend the poor from the rich, the weak from the powerful, the induſtrious from the rapacious, the peaceable from the violent, the tenants from the lords, and all from their ſuperiors. They invite and ſolicit them to conſult their own glory and welfare, and to unite with them in one ſocial compact. Your province," ſay they, "is the only link wanting to complete the bright and ſtrong chain of union. Nature has joined your country to ours, join alſo your political intereſts by an acceſſion to the general confederation." But the ſpirit of liberty was too faint and feeble in Canada, and the ariſtocracy and prieſthood too powerful to admit of any conſiderable effect from this addreſs. The congreſs, having finiſhed their deliberations, diſſolved themſelves after an uninterrupted ſeſſion of fifty-two days. Such was the noble and enthuſiaſtic deteſtation of this aſſembly to tyranny and ſlavery, that in one of their debates reſpecting the probability and danger of a rupture with Great Britain, a leading member roſe up and ſaid, "I ſhould adviſe perſiſting in our ſtruggle, though it were revealed from heaven that nine hundred and ninety-nine were to periſh in the conteſt, and only one of a thouſand to ſurvive and retain his liberty." The laſt reſolution of this aſſembly imported that another congreſs ſhall be held the 10th day of May 1775, unleſs redreſs of grievances be obtained before that time.

General Gage had iſſued writs for convoking the general court of Maſſachuſetts at Salem on the 5th of October, which ſubſequent events induced him to recall; but the court neverthekeſs met, and, voting themſelves into a provincial congreſs, appointed a committee to preſent a remonſtrance to the governor, complaining in ſtrong terms of the late arbitrary laws, and the hoſtile preparations making to enforce them. The governor refuſed to recognize them as a lawful aſſembly, and warned them at their peril to deſiſt from their illegal and unconſtitutional proceedings. To this requiſition or menace little regard was paid, and at a ſubſequent meeting a plan was drawn up for the immediate defence of the province; magazines of ammunition and ſtores were provided for twelve thouſand militia, and an enrolment made of a number of *minute men*, ſo called from their engaging to turn out with their arms at a minute's warning. Winter approaching, the governor was deſirous of providing barracks and clothing for the ſoldiers: but no workmen could be procured; and the merchants returned for anſwer, that they never would ſupply any article for the benefit of men who were ſent as enemies to their country. Every thing now ſerved to increaſe the mutual apprehenſion and animoſity. A magazine of powder at Charleſtown, near Boſton, had been ſeized by general Gage's order, and a battery of cannon ſpiked by a detachment from the ſhipping. On the other hand, the fort at Portſmouth, in New Hampſhire, was aſſaulted by an armed body of provincials, and after a ſlight reſiſtance carried by ſtorm, and the powder it contained was ſent off in boats to a place of ſafety. A ſimilar ſpirit of retaliation and reſiſtance almoſt every where diſcovered itſelf. The reſolutions of the continental congreſs were univerſally confirmed by the provincial aſſemblies or conventions, and committees of inſpection and obſervation were appointed in order to enforce due obedience to the public deciſions.

It is now neceſſary to revert to the ſtate of affairs in England, where paſſion had during this interval ſufficient leiſure to cool, and the greateſt anxiety began to prevail as to the reſult of the late meaſures of adminiſtration. Lord Chatham, whoſe ſentiments and feelings on all ſubjects of public concern muſt be regarded as peculiarly intereſting, in a confidential letter to a friend, dated Auguſt 1774, writes, "every ſtep on the ſide of government, in America, ſeems calculated to drive the Americans into open reſiſtance, vainly hoping to cruſh the ſpirit of liberty in that vaſt continent at one ſucceſsful blow; but millions muſt periſh there before the ſeeds of freedom will ceaſe to grow and ſpread in ſo favorable a ſoil: and in the mean time devoted England muſt ſink herſelf under the ruins of her own fooliſh and inhuman ſyſtem of deſtruction." In a ſubſequent letter he ſays, " It is plain that America cannot wear chains. Would to heaven it were equally plain that the oppreſſor England is not doomed one day to bind them round her own hands, and wear them patiently!

————————Sævior armis
Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciſcitur orbem.

Happily beyond the Atlantic this poiſon has not reached the heart. When then will infatuated adminiſtration begin to fear that freedom they cannot deſtroy, and which they do not know how to love?" And in a third letter he ſays, " I have not words to expreſs my ſatisfaction that the congreſs had conducted this moſt arduous and delicate buſineſs with ſuch manly wiſdom and calm reſolution as does the higheſt honor to their deliberations. Very few are the things contained in their reſolves that I could wiſh had been otherwiſe. Upon the whole I think it muſt be evident to every unprejudiced man in England, who feels for the rights of mankind, that America, under all her oppreſſions and provocations, holds forth to us the moſt fair and juſt opening for reſtoring harmony and affectionate intercourſe as heretofore. I truſt that the minds of men are more than beginning to change on this great ſubject; and that it will be found impoſſible for freemen in England to wiſh to ſee three millions of Engliſhmen ſlaves in America."

The PARLIAMENT, which had ſat ſix years only, was ſuddenly and unexpectedly diſſolved in the month of September, and a new parliament immediately convened, which met on the enſuing 29th November 1774, and of which Sir Fletcher Norton, a lawyer of great eminence, was unanimouſly re-choſen ſpeaker; for, this high office he had already occupied ſeveral years, in conſequence of the reſignation of Sir John Cuſt. The king, in his opening ſpeech, acquainted the two houſes, that a moſt daring ſpirit of reſiſtance and diſobedience ſtill prevailed in the province of Maſſachuſetts

Bay, and had broke forth in freſh violences of a very criminal nature; that the moſt proper and effectual meaſures had been taken to prevent theſe miſchiefs; and that they might depend upon a firm reſolution to withſtand every attempt to weaken or impair the ſupreme authority of this legiſlature over all the dominions of the crown." The addreſs propoſed in the houſe of commons produced a warm and animated debate. The miniſter was reminded of the mighty effects he had predicted from the late acts againſt America. They were to humble the whole continent in the duſt, and the puniſhment of Boſton was to ſtrike univerſal terror into all the colonies; that refractory town would be totally abandoned; and, inſtead of obtaining relief, a dread of the ſame fate would even prevent the appearances of pity. An amendment being at length offered, that his majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to communicate the letters, orders, and inſtructions, relative to the execution of the late acts, it was negatived by a majority of 264 to 73. In the houſe of lords, the numbers on the diviſion were 63 to 13; but a *proteſt againſt the addreſs*, the firſt which had ever appeared on the journals of the houſe, was ſigned by the lords in the minority; who, at the concluſion of it, thus expreſs themſelves: "It affords us a melancholy proſpect of the diſpoſition of lords in the preſent parliament, when we ſee the houſe, under the preſſure of ſo ſevere and uniform an experience, again ready, without enquiry, to countenance, if not to adopt, the ſpirit of former fatal proceedings. But whatever may be the miſchievous deſigns, or the inconſiderate temerity which leads others to this deſperate courſe, we wiſh to be known as perſons who have diſapproved the meaſures ſo injurious in their paſt effects and future tendency; and who are not in haſte, without enquiry or information, to commit ourſelves in declarations which may precipitate our country into all the calamities of a civil war." Notwithſtanding the high language of the court on the firſt day of the ſeſſions, evident ſymptoms of irreſolution in the cabinet councils were at this period diſcernible; and all diſcuſſion of the affairs of America were ſtudiouſly avoided by the miniſter, in parliament, previous to the receſs. It was intimated only, that the apprehenſion of a war was wholly chimerical. The eſtimates were formed entirely upon a peace eſtabliſhment, the land-tax was continued at three ſhillings; no vote of credit was required; the army remained on its former footing; and, what was moſt of all ſurpriſing, a reduction of four thouſand ſeamen took place from the twenty thouſand voted laſt year—a circumſtance which ſhews in the ſtrongeſt light, how aſtoniſhing was the deluſion of the miniſtry, or how eager their ſolicitude to delude the public. Lord Sandwich, firſt lord of the admiralty, publicly declared in the houſe of peers, that he *knew* the low eſtabliſhment propoſed would be fully ſufficient for reducing the colonies to obedience. With unpardonable indiſcretion he ſpoke in terms the moſt contemptuous both of the powers and the courage of the Americans. He aſſerted, that they were neither diſciplined nor capable of diſcipline; and that formed of ſuch materials, and ſo indiſpoſed to encounter danger, their numbers would only add to the facility of the defeat*." On the firſt day of the meeting after the receſs, January 20th, 1775, lord Dartmouth laid before the peers the official papers belonging to his department. The plan of miniſterial coercion was now finally ſettled—not however, according to the general report, without conſiderable oppoſition in the cabinet from certain members of the adminiſtration, in the number of whom there was reaſon to believe that the firſt lord of the treaſury himſelf, the lord privy ſeal, and the ſecretary of ſtate for America, were to be accounted. Notwithſtanding the continued infirmities of the earl of Chatham, he had formed a reſolution to attend the houſe, if poſſible, on this memorable day, in order, before the die was finally caſt, to make one powerful effort to avert the calamity, the danger, and the ruin which he ſaw impending over that great empire, which

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* To the inſolence and adulation of lord SANDWICH's rhetoric on this occaſion, hiſtory affords perhaps no juſter parallel than the ſpeech of MARDONIUS to XERXES on his projected invaſion of Greece, as recorded by the pen of Herodotus. "Sir," ſaid the ſlave to the deſpot, "you are not only the moſt illuſtrious of all the Perſians who have hitherto appeared, but you may ſecurely defy the competition of poſterity. You are entitled to our particular admiration for not ſuffering the people of IONIA, *contemptible as they are*, to INSULT US with impunity. It would indeed be prepoſterous, if, after reducing to our power the Sacæ, the Indians, the Ethiopians, and the Aſſyrians, with many other great and illuſtrious nations, we ſhould not inflict vengeance on thoſe GREEKS, who *without provocation* have moleſted us. There can be nothing to excite our alarm—no multitude of troops—no extraordinary wealth—their PROWES *I myſelf have known*—Beſides this, I am informed that in all their military undertakings the Greeks betray the extremeſt ignorance and folly. Who, ſir, ſhall oppoſe you at the head of the forces and fleets of Aſia? The Greeks I think never can be ſo audacious. If, however, I ſhould be deceived, and they ſhall be ſo MAD as to engage us, they will ſoon find to their coſt that

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that in the art of war we are the firſt of mankind." How well the predictions of theſe vain boaſters were verified let SALAMIS and SARATOGA tell! The abject manner in which the GREAT KING ſubſequently ſued by his ambaſſadors for peace, courting with fawning flattery the friendſhip and alliance of the very people he had thus injuriouſly treated, and the diſdainful refuſal of the Athenians to enter into any negotiation ſo long as the Perſian army remained within the limits of the Grecian territory, are particularly related by the ſame hiſtorian. "You may be aſſured," ſay theſe ſons of freedom, "that your endeavours to perſuade us into an alliance with the BARBARIANS never will ſucceed. On the part of the Athenians we declare, that as long as the ſun ſhall continue his ordinary courſe, ſo long will we avoid any friendſhip with Xerxes—ſo long will we continue to reſiſt him. Hereafter do not preſume to enter an Athenian aſſembly with overtures of this kind." Herod. book viii, ſect. 9. It it curious to remark, that the Laureat Whitehead, in his New Year's Ode for 1774, has converted this hiſtoric parallel into a poetic contraſt—with what color of plauſibility a ſhort extract will ſuffice to ſhow.

"Paſs but a few ſhort fleeting years,"
Imperial XERXES ſighed, and ſaid,
"And all that pomp which now appears
A glorious living ſcene
Shall breathe its laſt."

True, tyrant!—wherefore then does pride
And vain ambition urge thy mind
To ſpread thy needleſs conqueſts wide,
And deſolate mankind?

Not ſo do BRITAIN'S KINGS behold
Their floating bulwarks of the main
Their undulating ſails unfold,
And gather all the winds aërial reign
To hurl JUST THUNDERS on INSULTING FOES,
To GUARD and not INVADE the WORLD'S REPOSE.

under his adminiſtration had attained the ſummit of human proſperity and glory. The houſe was unuſually full, and a moſt reſpectable and crowded audience alſo filled the ſpace below the bar. When he roſe to ſpeak, all was ſilence and profound attention. Animated and almoſt inſpired by his ſubject, he ſeemed to feel his own unrivalled ſuperiority. His venerable figure, dignified and graceful in decay, his language, his voice, his geſture, were ſuch as might at this important criſis, big with the fate of Britain, ſeem to characterize him as the guardian genius of his country*. “Too well apprized,” he ſaid, “of the contents of the papers now at laſt laid before the houſe, he would not take up their lordſhips' time in tedious and fruitleſs inveſtigations, but would ſeize the firſt moment to open the door of reconcilement;—for, ſaid he, every moment of delay is a moment of danger. As I have not, ſaid his lordſhip, the honor of acceſs to his majeſty, I will endeavor to tranſmit to him, through the conſtitutional channel of this houſe, my ideas of America, to RESCUE him from the miſ-advice of his preſent miniſters. America, my lords, cannot be reconciled; ſhe ought not to be reconciled to this country till the troops of Britain are withdrawn from the continent; they are a bar to all confidence, they are a ſource of perpetual irritation, they threaten a fatal cataſtrophe. How can America truſt you, with the bayonet at her breaſt? How can ſhe ſuppoſe that you mean leſs than bondage or death? I therefore, my lords, move, that an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, moſt humbly to adviſe and beſeech his majeſty, ‘that in order to open the way towards an happy ſettlement of the dangerous troubles in America, it may graciouſly pleaſe his majeſty to tranſmit orders to general Gage for removing his majeſty's forces from the town of Boſton.' I know not, my lords, who adviſed the preſent meaſures; I know not who adviſes to a preſeverance and enforcement of them; but this I will ſay, that the authors of ſuch advice ought to anſwer it at their utmoſt peril. I wiſh, my lords, not to loſe a day in this urgent preſſing criſis.—an hour now loſt in allaying ferments in America may produce years of calamity. Never will I deſert, in any ſtage of its progreſs, the conduct of this momentous buſineſs. Unleſs fettered to my bed by the extremity of ſickneſs, I will give it unremitting attention. I will knock at the gates of this ſleeping and confounded miniſtry, and will, if it be poſſible, rouſe them to a ſenſe of their danger. The recall of your army I urge as neceſſarily preparatory to the reſtoration of your peace. By this it will appear that you are diſpoſed to treat amicably and equitably, and to conſider, reviſe, and repeal, if it ſhould be found neceſſary, as I affirm it will, thoſe violent acts and declarations which have diſſeminated confuſion throughout the empire. Reſiſtance to theſe acts was neceſſary, and therefore juſt; and your vain declarations of the omnipotence of parliament, and your imperious doctrines of the neceſſity of ſubmiſſion, will be found equally impotent to convince or enſlave America, who feels that tyranny is equally intolerable, whether it be exerciſed by an individual part of the legiſlature, or by the collective bodies which compoſe it. The means of enforcing this thraldom are found to be as ridiculous and weak in practice as they are unjuſt in principle. Conceiving of general Gage as a man of humanity and underſtanding; entertaining, as I ever muſt, the higheſt reſpect and affection for the Britiſh troops, I feel the moſt anxious ſenſibility for their ſituation, pining in inglorious inactivity. You may call them an army of ſafety and of defence, but they are in truth an army of impotence and contempt; and to make the folly equal to the diſgrace, they are an army of irritation and vexation. Allay then the ferment prevailed in America, by removing the obnoxious hoſtile cauſe. If you delay conceſſion till your vain hope ſhall be accompliſhed of triumphantly dictating reconciliation, you delay for ever; the force of this country would be diſproportionately exerted againſt a brave, generous, and united people, with arms in their hands and courage in their hearts—three millions of people, the genuine deſcendants of a valiant and pious anceſtry, driven to theſe deſerts by the narrow maxims of a ſuperſtitious tyranny. But, is the ſpirit of perſecution never to be appeaſed? Are the brave ſons of thoſe brave forefathers to inherit their ſufferings as they have inherited their virtues? Are they to ſuſtain the infliction of the moſt oppreſſive and unexampled ſeverity, beyond what hiſtory has related, or poetry has feigned?

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* Such extraordinary powers of mind as were in this nobleman, combined with ſo much corporeal infirmity, recall to recollection the anecdote of M. Voltaire, who, on a viſit to the famous M. Turgot, when laſt at Paris, found the miniſter wrapt up in gouty flannels and unable to move: “You remind me, ſaid the philoſopher to the ſtateſman, of the image ſeen in Nebuchadnezzar's dream.” “Ah!” ſaid M. Turgot, “the feet of clay!” “Yes, and the head of GOLD! the head of GOLD!” ſaid M. Voltaire.

> ——Rhadamanthus habet duriſſima regna,
> Caſtigatque, *auditque*, dolos.

But the Americans muſt not be heard; they have been condemned unheard. The indiſcriminate hand of vengeance has devoted thirty thouſand Britiſh ſubjects of all ranks, ages, and deſcriptions to one common ruin. You may no doubt deſtroy their cities; you may cut them off from the ſuperfluities, perhaps the conveniences of life; but, my lords, they will ſtill deſpiſe your power, for they have yet remaining their woods and their liberty. What though you march from town to town, from province to province, though you ſhould be able to enforce a temporary and local ſubmiſſion, how ſhall you be able to ſecure the obedience of the country you leave behind you, in your progreſs of eighteen hundred miles of continent animated with the ſame ſpirit of liberty and of reſiſtance? This univerſal oppoſition to your arbitrary ſyſtem of taxation might have been foreſeen; it was obvious from the nature of things and from the nature of man, and, above all, from the confirmed habits of thinking, from the ſpirit of whiggiſm flouriſhing in America. The ſpirit which now pervades America, is the ſame which formerly oppoſed loans, benevolences, and ſhip-money in this country; the ſame ſpirit which rouſed all England to action at the revolution; and which eſtabliſhed, at a remote æra, your liberties, on the baſis of that grand fundamental maxim of the conſtitution, that no ſubject of England ſhall be taxed but by his own conſent. What ſhall oppoſe this ſpirit, aided by the congenial flame glowing in the breaſt of every generous Briton? To maintain this principle is the common cauſe of the whigs on the other ſide of the Atlantic and on this; it is liberty to liberty engaged. In this great cauſe they are immoveably allied; it is the alliance of God and nature, immutable, eternal, fixed as the firmament of heaven. As an Engliſhman, I recognize to the Americans their ſupreme unalterable right of property. As an American, I would equally recognize to England her ſupreme right of regulating commerce and navigation. This diſtinction is involved in the abſtract nature of things; property is private, individual, abſolute; the touch of another annihilates it. Trade is an extended aud complicated conſideration; it reaches as far as ſhips can ſail or winds can blow; it is a vaſt and various machine. To regulate the numberleſs movements of its ſeveral parts, and combine them into one harmonious effect, for the good of the whole, requires the ſuperintending wiſdom and energy of the ſupreme power of the empire. On this grand practical diſtinction then let us reſt; taxation is theirs, commercial regulation is ours. As to the metaphyſical refinements, attempting to ſhow that the Americans are equally free from legiſlative control and commercial reſtraint, as from taxation for the purpoſe of revenue, I pronounce them futile, frivolous, and groundleſs. When your lordſhips have peruſed the papers tranſmitted us from America,

rica, when you conſider the dignity, the firmneſs, and the wiſdom with which the Americans have acted, you cannot but reſpect their cauſe. Hiſtory, my lords, has been my favorite ſtudy, and in the celebrated writings of antiquity have I often admired the patriotiſm of Greece and Rome: but, my lords, I muſt declare and avow, that in the maſter-ſtates of the world, I know not the people, or the ſenate, who, in ſuch a complication of difficult circumſtances, can ſtand in preference to the delegates of America aſſembled in general congreſs at Philadelphia. I truſt it is obvious to your lordſhips, that all attempts to impoſe ſervitude upon ſuch men, to eſtabliſh deſpotiſm over ſuch a mighty continental nation, muſt be vain, muſt be futile. Can ſuch a national principled union be reſiſted by the tricks of office or miniſterial manœuvres? Heaping papers on the table, or counting your majorities on a diviſion, will not avert or poſtpone the hour of danger. It muſt arrive, my lords, unleſs theſe fatal acts are done away; it muſt arrive in all its horrors; and then theſe boaſtful miniſters, in ſpite of all their confidence and all their manœuvres, ſhall be compelled to hide their heads. But it is not repealing a piece of parchment that can reſtore America to your boſom; you muſt repeal her fears and reſentments, and then you may hope for her love and gratitude. But now, inſulted with an armed force, irritated with an hoſtile array before her eyes, her conceſſions, if you *could* force them, would be ſuſpicious and inſecure. But it is more than evident that you *cannot* force them to your unworthy terms of ſubmiſſion; it is impoſſible: WE ourſelves ſhall be forced ultimately to retract; let us retract while we can, not when we muſt. I repeat it, my lords, we ſhall one day be forced to undo theſe violent oppreſſive Acts; they muſt be repealed, you will repeal them; I pledge myſelf for it, that you will in the end repeal them; I ſtake my reputation on it; I will conſent to be taken for an IDIOT if they are not repealed. Avoid this then humiliating diſgraceful neceſſity. With a dignity becoming your exalted ſituation, make the firſt advances to concord, to peace, and to happineſs. Conceſſion comes with better grace and more ſalutary effect from ſuperior power; it reconciles ſuperiority of power with the feelings of man, and eſtabliſhes ſolid confidence on the foundations of affection and gratitude. On the other hand, every danger and every hazard impend to deter you from perſeverance in the preſent ruinous meaſures; foreign war hanging over your heads by a ſlight and brittle thread; France and Spain watching your conduct, and waiting for the maturity of your errors, with a vigilant eye to America and the temper of your colonies, MORE THAN TO THEIR OWN CONCERNS, BE THEY WHAT THEY MAY. To conclude, my lords, if the miniſters thus perſevere in miſadviſing and miſleading the KING, I will not ſay that they *can* alienate the affections of his ſubjects from the crown; but I affirm, they will make the crown not worth his wearing. I will not ſay that the KING is BETRAYED, but I will pronounce that the KINGDOM is UNDONE."

The motion of lord Chatham was moſt ably ſeconded and ſupported by lord Camden: "king, lords, and commons," ſaid this great conſtitutional lawyer, "are grand and ſounding names: but king, lords, and commons may become tyrants as well as others. Tyranny in one or more is the ſame: it is as lawful to reſiſt the tyranny of many as of one; this has been a doctrine known and acted upon in this country, for ages. When the famous Selden was aſked by what ſtatute reſiſtance to tyranny could be juſtified? his reply was, "It is to be juſtified by the cuſtom of England, which is a part of the law of the land.' I will affirm, my lords, not only as a ſtateſman, politician, and philoſopher, but as a common lawyer, that you have no right to tax America. No man, agreeably to the principles of natural or civil liberty, can be diveſted of any part of his property without his conſent; and whenever

ever oppreſſion begins, reſiſtance becomes lawful and right."

The language of the lords in adminiſtration was high and deciſive: it was declared, that the mother-country ſhould never relax till America confeſſed her ſupremacy, and obedience muſt be enforced by arms. Lord Gower, preſident of the council, is reported, in addition to his menaces, to have ſaid with an air of contempt and diſdain, "let the Americans, ſo long as theſe meaſures are enforced, ſit talking about their natural and divine rights, their rights as men and citizens, their rights from GOD and nature." In the reſult the motion was rejected by 68 voices againſt 18.

In the houſe of commons, the American papers were, by motion of lord North, referred to a committee of the whole houſe, on the 26th of January 1775; previous to which petitions were preſented to the houſe from the merchants of London, Briſtol, Glaſgow, &c. which, by an artifice characteriſtic of the preſent miniſtry, were on a diviſion of 197 to 81 members, conſigned to a ſeparate committee, to meet on the 27th of January, ſo that the houſe muſt neceſſarily come to a final deciſion on the grand queſtion before the petitions were admitted to a hearing. This committee was denominated therefore by the oppoſition, the committee of oblivion. The ground on which the miniſtry juſtified this procedure was, that commerce and politics were matters totally diſtinct, and that the houſe muſt decide on the queſtion of peace and war ſolely on political conſiderations; but that due care would be taken to ſecure the commercial intereſts and property of the merchants whoſe petitions were before the houſe. To which the petitioners replied, "that they were under no apprehenſions for their property, but from the meaſures which might be adopted by that honorable houſe in order to ſecure it." The petition from the congreſs to the king having been referred by his majeſty, amidſt the common maſs of American papers, to the houſe, the American agents, Mr. Bollan, Dr. Franklin and Mr. Lee, petitioned the houſe to be heard at the bar in its ſupport. But the miniſters alledged, that the congreſs was no legal body; and to hear evidence on the ſubject of their petition, would be giving that illegal body ſome degree of countenance:—that with reſpect to the pretended grievances alleged in the petition, the houſe could hear the colonies only through their legal aſſemblies, and their agents properly authorized; and that any deviations from this rule would deſtroy the whole order of colony government." To this the oppoſition replied, "that the order of colony grvernment was deſtroyed already in ſome places by act of parliament; in others by the diſſolution of aſſemblies by governors; and in others by popular violence —that the queſtion was now how to reſtore it. That the congreſs was ſurely an aſſembly ſufficiently legal for the purpoſe of preſenting a petition, which, as it was ſigned by all their names, might be received as the petltion of individuals. That this mode of conſtantly rejecting petitions would infallibly end in univerſal revolt; and indeed a refuſal to hear complaints ſeemed plainly to amount to an abdication of government."—Theſe reaſonings made no impreſſion, and the petition was in fine rejected by 218 voices to 68.

Thus did the Britiſh parliament virtually reſolve to devote three millions of Britiſh ſubjects to deſtruction unheard, and to carry fire and ſword into the moſt flouriſhing provinces of the empire, rather than deviate an *iota* from the eſtabliſhed *etiquette* of precedent and punctilio. The great majority by which lord Chatham's motion for the recall of the troops from Boſton was negatived, did not diſcourage that nobleman from perſiſting in his exertions for reſtoring peace to the empire: and in the beginning of February he offered to the houſe of peers a bill for that purpoſe, under the title of "a proviſional act for ſettling the troubles of America, and for aſſerting the ſupreme authority and ſuperintending power of Great Britain over the colonies." This bill comprehended a vaſt extent of matter, and, as the noble lord who preſided over the American department juſtly obſerved, many of its parts ſeemed to require much ſeparate diſcuſſion; that it was impoſſible therefore to pronounce any immediate opinion concerning its propriety; that as the noble mover did not ſeem to preſs the houſe to any immediate deciſion, but rather appeared deſirous that it ſhould be fully and maturely weighed, he preſumed it would be agreeable to him, and he objected not to receive it, on condition that it ſhould lie on the table till the American papers were firſt taken into conſideration. This appearance of reſpect and moderation ſeemed to move the indignation of the other lords in adminiſtration; and lord Gower in particular reprobated it in the aggregate, and all its parts, with extraordinary aſperity. It was affirmed by his lordſhip "that the bill was irregular, unparliamentary, and unprecedented; that the matter ſhould have been laid before the houſe in ſeparate propoſitions, that it was objection ſufficient to the bill, that it ſought reconciliation by conceſſion; that it not only gave a ſanction to the traitorous proceedings of the congreſs already held, but by the appointment of another legalized their proceedings by act of parliament; that ſhould their lordſhips be baſe enough to betray the rights of parliament, by adopting the proviſions of this bill, the Americans would only accept ſuch parts of it as ſuited their own views, and would no doubt diſclaim thoſe that wore any appearance of ſubmiſſion. The duty on tea was affirmed to be only the pretext for the hoſtile conduct of the Americans, and that their real aim was to throw off all reſtrictions upon their commerce; that if the juriſdiction of the admiralty courts were circumſcribed in the manner propoſed by this bill, the navigation act would become a mere dead letter; in fine, that this was no time for conceſſion, and that to concede now would be to give up the point for ever. His lordſhip, therefore, gave it as his opinion, that the bill ſhould not be ſuffered to lie on the table."

Lord Chatham, feeling and highly reſenting the indignity now offered, entered into his own vindication, and that of the meaſure propoſed by him, with all the fire and ardor of youth. "He was ſenſible," he ſaid, "that this bill contained the rude outline of a plan of accommodation; that he had offered it to the houſe with a view of obtaining the aſſiſtance of their lordſhips, to render it effectual to the great ends to which it was ultimately directed. His bill was framed on no narrow principle. He appealed to the candor of their lordſhips, and deprecated the effects of factious ſpleen or blind predilection. He had been charged with precipitation in this buſineſs; but under ſuch circumſtances of emergency, when a ſingle day might decide the fate of the empire, what was to be done? More than two months had elapſed ſince the meeting of parliament, and no plan of reconciliation had been offered by the miniſters; who, by their ſilence and inaction, ſeemed to acknowledge themſelves incapable of deviſing any. No alternative then remained for him, but to ſubmit to their lordſhips his ideas on the ſubject, or to abandon the intereſts of his country. But let miniſters avow that they have a plan, and he would inſtantly withdraw his bill. By the indecent attempt now made to ſtifle this bill *in embryo*, miniſters might hope that the contents of it would ſink into ſilence and oblivion. But, though rejected here, it would, he truſted, ever remain a monument of his earneſt however ineffectual endeavours to ſerve his country. It would at leaſt manifeſt how zealous he had been to avert the impending ſtorms which ſeemed ready to burſt over us, and overwhelm the empire in ruin. He acknowledged himſelf, on cool reflection, not indeed much ſurpriſed, that men who hate liberty ſhould alſo hate thoſe that prize it; that thoſe who want virtue themſelves, ſhould perſecute them who poſſeſs it. Since the firſt entrance of the preſent miniſters into office, he affirmed, that the whole of their political conduct had been one continued ſeries of weakneſs, temerity, ignorance, deſpotiſm, and corruption. In one view only did they appear ſound ſtateſmen and able politicians—in a ſtrict and unvaried attention to their own intereſt: ſuch were their characters and ſuch their abilities, that no plan of government could be expected to ſucceed in their hands; and they themſelves, he doubted not, were fully conſcious that the adoption of any ſyſtem of conciliation, founded on a wiſe and rational policy, would annihilate their power, and reduce them to that ſtate of inſignificance for which God and nature had deſigned them." The motion being put, the bill was rejected by a majority of 61 to 32 voices.

The very day ſucceeding this rejection, lord North moved in the houſe of commons an addreſs to his majeſty, "to return thanks for the communication of the American papers, and to declare, that, having taken them into their moſt ſerious conſideration, they find that a REBELLION at this time actually exiſts in the province of Maſſachuſetts Bay, which was affirmed to be more inexcuſable, from reflecting with how much TEMPER his majeſty and the parliament have acted in ſupport of the laws and conſtitution of Great Britain; and ſolemnly aſſuring his majeſty, that it it is their fixed reſolution, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, to ſupport his majeſty, againſt all REBELLIOUS ATTEMPTS, in the maintenance of his juſt rights, and thoſe of the two houſes of parliament." A vehement debate enſued, and ſome of the more moderate of thoſe who had hitherto voted with adminiſtration, ſeemed to feel a kind of horror at a propoſition big with the moſt dangerous and direful conſequences. It was affirmed on the part of the oppoſition, that reſiſtance to arbitrary meaſures was warranted by the conſtitution; that no act of violence had been committed in the Maſſachuſetts bay, which was not equalled by ſimilar acts in other provinces; that this partial declaration of rebellion was only a branch of the general ſyſtem of deluſion—that there was no medium between a general war and a general reconciliation." On the other hand, the courtiers inſiſted, "that the boaſted union of the colonies would diſſolve the moment parliament ſhewed itſelf reſolved on meaſures of vigor and ſeverity. That it would not however, they hoped, be neceſſary to puniſh univerſally, or to make examples of more than a *few ringleaders* of this revolt; and that when the colonies ſhould be reduced to due and entire ſubmiſſion to the laws and authority of Great Britain, their real grievances upon their making proper application ſhould be redreſſed."

Several of the profeſſional members of the houſe affected to ſpeak with the utmoſt contempt of the military proweſs of the Americans; and one modern Alexander declared*, "that, at the head of five regiments of infantry, he would undertake to traverſe the whole country, and drive the inhabitants from one end of the continent to the other."

An amendment to the addreſs was at length propoſed by Mr. Fox, who had been in the courſe of the preceding ſeſſion *diſmiſſed* from his ſeat on the treaſury-bench for a ſpirit not ſufficiently ſubmiſſive, with circumſtances of peculiar rudeneſs and indignity. Leaving out all but the preliminary words of the addreſs, he moved to ſubſtitute after them the following: "but deploring that the information which the papers laid before them had afforded, ſerved only to convince the houſe that the meaſutes taken by his majeſty's ſervants tended rather to widen than to heal the unhappy differences between Great Britain and America, and praying an alteration in the ſame." Upon a diviſion a diviſion, the amendment was rejected by 304 voices againſt 105, which was, however, a larger minority than had hitherto appeared on any queſtion. Nor was it yet ſuffered to paſs quietly—for, on receiving the report, lord John Cavendiſh a nobleman whoſe principles were ſuch as might be ſuppoſed aſſociated with, and were calculated to ſuſtain the high honors of his name, moved for its recommitment; on which a ſecond debate, not leſs vehement than the former, took place. Miniſters were warned that a future and bitter day of retribution would inevitably come, when they muſt anſwer to the JUSTICE of their country for the miſchief they had already done, and for the irretrievable ruin into which they were plunging the nation. "My head and my heart," ſaid the noble mover, "join in deprecating the horrors of a civil war, which will be rendered ſtill more dreadful by its involving in its certain conſequences a foreign one with the combined forces of great and powerful nations." On the diviſion the minority appeared to have gained ſome little ground, the numbers being 288 to 106.

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* General Grant.

The next day a conference was, at the requeſt of the commons, held with the lords, to propoſe their lordſhips' joining in this addreſs; and the preſident lord Gower, having made the report, the earl of Dartmouth moved, that the blank which was left open in the addreſs ſhould be filled up by the inſertion of the words—"the lords ſpiritual and temporal." A debate equally violent with that in the houſe of commons now enſued; a very wide ſcope of invective, no leſs than of argument, was taken by the ſpeakers on both ſides; and in the heat of controverſial recrimination, aſſertion, denial, arraignment, and defiance, were, in a mode very unuſual in that houſe, dealt in unſparing and paſſionate terms. To the aſtoniſhment of the houſe, lord Mansfield, who had ever appeared to harbor an inveterate enmity to America, declared, "that the impoſition of the port-duties of 1767 was a meaſure the moſt abſurd and pernicious that could be deviſed, and the cauſe of all our preſent and impending evils." On which lord Shelburne, at that time ſecretary of ſtate, lord Camden, then lord Chancellor, and the duke of Grafton, then at the head of the treaſury, and now lord privy ſeal, ſeverally declared, that they had no ſhare in that meaſure, and had never given it their approbation. A general ſentiment of amazement and indignation ſeemed for a moment to pervade the minds of the houſe, that a meaſure of ſuch unparalleled importance ſhould be carried into effect by the force of a ſecret and overruling influence, contrary to the advice and judgment of the principal miniſters of the crown, who were alone reſponſible for the meaſures of government. The marquis of Rockingham, who had petitions from the American and Weſt India merchants to preſent to the houſe, at length moved the previous queſtion, in order that the allegations of the merchants might be heard before any deciſive ſtep was taken; but on the diviſion it was negatived by 104 voices to 29; after which the original motion of lord Dartmouth was put, and agreed to by the houſe: but on both queſtions ſtrong proteſts were entered on the journals of the houſe.

On the 10th of February, lord North moved for a bill to reſtrain the trade and commerce of the New-England provinces, and to prohibit them from carrying on the fiſheries on the banks of Newfoundland. This bill excited freſh debates. It was ſaid, "that though a rebellion was declared only in one province, three more were included in the ſame puniſhment; that the Newfoundland fiſhery was neceſſary to the ſubſiſtence of the people of New-England, and that, by the operations of this cruel act, half a million of people, including friends and foes, innocent and guilty, were condemned to periſh by famine for the ſuppoſed offences of an inconſiderable number*. The miniſters contented themſelves with alleging the political neceſſity of this meaſure, and it was carried through both houſes by the uſual majorities.—While this bill was pending, the friends of the miniſter, no leſs than the parliament, and the nation at large, were thrown into ſudden aſtoniſhment, by his lordſhip's announcing to the houſe A CONCILIATORY PROPOSITION. This famous motion, which was introduced by a long and elaborate ſpeech, the miniſter affirmed to be founded on a paſſage of the late addreſs, which declared, that whenever any of the colonies ſhall make a proper application to parliament, we ſhall be ready to afford them every juſt and reaſonable indulgence. The propoſition itſelf, which wears an ambiguous and enigmatical appearance, was preciſely as follows:—"That when the governor, council, and aſſembly, or general court of his majeſty's provinces, or colonies, ſhall propoſe to make proviſion according to their reſpective conditions, circumſtances, and ſituations, for contributing their proportion to the common defence, ſuch proportion to be raiſed under the authority of the general court, or general aſſembly of ſuch province, or colony, and diſpoſable by parliament; and ſhall engage to make proviſion alſo for the ſupport of the civil government, and the adminiſtration of juſtice in ſuch province or colony; it will be proper, if ſuch propoſal ſhould be approved of by his majeſty in parliament, and for ſo long as ſuch proviſion ſhall be made accordingly, to forbear, in reſpect of ſuch province or colony, to levy any duties, tax, or aſſeſſment, or to propoſe any further duty, tax or aſſeſſment, except only ſuch duties as it may be expedient to propoſe for the regulation of commerce; the nett produce of the duties laſt mentioned to be carried to the account of ſuch province, colony, or plantation reſpectively."

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* This notable project for ſtarving the Americans into ſubmiſſion, was planned by the ſolicitor general, who, in conſequence, acquired the ludicrous characteriſtic appellation of "Starvation Wedderburne."

ſpectively." Though the intention of the miniſter, in the framing of this propoſition, which there is good ground to believe the majority of the cabinet moſt reluctantly aſſented to, was perhaps juſt and laudable, it could not be imagined by any perſon capable of enlarged or comprehenſive views, that in the preſent ſtate of things it would be attended with any beneficial effect. When the *right* of taxation was poſitively and vehemently denied by America, a mere offer on the part of Great Britain to ſuſpend the exerciſe of that right, ſo long as the Americans ſhould tax themſelves in the exact proportion, and for the preciſe purpoſes preſcribed by parliament, muſt, to the Americans, appear an abſolute mockery. The miniſter had the chagrin to perceive that the propoſition was very indifferently received by the houſe. The gentlemen uſually in oppoſition treated it as nugatory, inſidious, and ridiculous. On the other hand, the high prerogative party, at the head of whom, and of the whole formidable phalanx of "king's friends," was Mr. Charles Jenkinſon, formerly ſecretary to lord Bute; a man, dark, ſubtile, and imbued with ſentiments of loyalty and ideas of government adapted to the meridian of the court of Iſpahan, violently exclaimed againſt this motion of conciliation, as a total abandonment of principle; as being in direct oppoſition to the ſpirit of the late addreſs; as a contradiction to all the acts and declarations of parliament; a virtual acknowledgment of injury; and a mean prevarication, which could tend to no other purpoſe than to ſacrifice the dignity of that houſe. They declared they would make no conceſſions to rebels with arms in their hands; nor agree to any terms of reconciliation, in which an expreſs and definitive acknowledgment of the ſupremacy of parliament was not a preliminary article. And a motion was actually made by Mr. Rigby for the chairman to leave the chair.—In the midſt of the tumult occaſioned by this motion, the ſolicitor general, Wedderburne, who had once been himſelf a leading member of the oppoſition, and who had rendered himſelf peculiarly odious by his apoſtacy, roſe, in order to explain the nature and tendency of the propoſition in queſtion, which, he ſaid, had been exceedingly miſtaken. He affirmed, "that it was far from the deſign of the propoſition to aſſent to a dereliction of the rights of parliament, or to yield in any degree to the inſolence of the Americans; but, on the contrary, it held forth a more wiſe and effectual method of enforcing the claims of the one, and repreſſing the arrogance of the other. The parliamentary right of taxation," he ſaid, "was ſo eſſential a part of ſovereignty, that parliament, if it would, *cannot* ſurrender it; and this right was expreſsly reſerved by the propoſition. Does it then ſuſpend the profitable exerciſe of the right? So far from it, that it ſhews the firm reſolution of parliament to enforce the only eſſential part of taxation, by COMPELLING the Americans to provide what WE, not they, think juſt and reaſonable. Thus it appeared that we were not contending, as ſome had affirmed, for trifles, or a vain point of honor; but the diſpute was at length placed on its proper foundation—revenue or no revenue; and in default of an entire and unlimited compliance, he concluded with applying to America the famous denunciation, DELENDA EST CARTHAGO."—The miniſter, who trembled at the idea of being left in a minority, gladly acquieſced in this very ſatisfactory explanation; adding, in the genuine ſpirit of Machiavelian policy, that his motion was founded on the well-known maxim, "divide et impera!" that he had never expected the Americans would embrace this propoſal, but that it was intended to diſunite the colonies, and unite the people of England. The prerogative party being now CONCILIATED, the queſtion was put, and the numbers proved on the diviſion 274 to 88. A ſecond bill was now brought in to reſtrain the trade of the colonies of Eaſt and Weſt Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Virginia, and

South Carolina, and the counties on the Delawar. The different parties in parliament appearing almoſt exhauſted with the fatigue of inceſſant debate, this meaſure, unexpected and important as it was, paſſed with no memorable oppoſition.

On the 22d March Mr. Burke moved a ſeries of conciliatory propoſitions in the houſe of commons, which he enforced by a moſt able and eloquent ſpeech, fraught with wiſdom and knowledge, clear, diſpaſſionate, and convincing; and in all reſpects worthy of a man of the higheſt reputation for genius and ability. He ſaid, "that his plan of conciliation was founded on the ſure and ſolid baſis of experience; that neither the chimeras of imagination, abſtract ideas of right, or mere general theories of government, ought to be attended to. He confeſſed that he was not acquainted with the method of drawing up an indictment againſt a whole people; and he affirmed, that government, to be beneficial, or even practicable, muſt be adapted to the feelings, habits, and received opinions of the people; that all ſchemes of government which had been or could be propoſed, without due regard to theſe matters, would be found ineffectual and dangerous. Deſpotiſm itſelf muſt bend to ſituations and circumſtances. He diſclaimed therefore all diſcuſſion reſpecting the queſtion of *right*, and wiſhed it to be conſidered ſolely as a matter of *policy*. Without enquiring whether they had a right to render their people miſerable, he aſked, whether it was not their intereſt to make them happy? and inſtead of taking the opinion of a lawyer on what they *might* do, Mr. Burke thought it more conſonant with reaſon, humanity, and juſtice, to conſult what they *ought* to do in an emergency like the preſent. The colonies, as they had hitherto been governed, were living monuments of the wiſdom of our anceſtors. The only method of governing them with ſafety or advantage, was by admitting them to an intereſt in our conſtitution, and by recording that admiſſion in the journals of parliament, to give them as ſtrong an aſſurance as the nature of the thing would allow, that we mean for ever to adhere to the ſyſtem originally eſtabliſhed. The idea of governing by force he reprobated as groſs in its conception, uncertain in its effect, and ruinous even in its ſucceſs. In conformity to theſe principles, parliament muſt revert to the antient conſtitutional policy of theſe kingdoms, which eſtabliſhed taxation in America by grant, and not by impoſition; which recognized the legal competency of the colony aſſemblies, for the ſupport of the civil government in time of peace, and for public aids in time of war. In the courſe of his ſpeech Mr. Burke mentioned the aſtoniſhing fact, that the exports from Great Britain to North America had increaſed from the beginning of the preſent century, when they amounted to five hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds, to upwards of ſix millions annually." The purport of the reſolutions, which were thirteen in number, went to recognize the legal competency of the colony aſſemblies for all the various purpoſes of taxation; to acknowledge that this legal competency has had a juſt and beneficial exerciſe; that experience has ſhewn the benefits of their grants, and the futility of parliamentary taxation as a method of ſupply. Others of the propoſitions related to the ſettlement of an independent judicature, the regulation of the courts of admiralty, and the repeal of the late coercive acts of parliament. The previous queſtion being moved on the firſt propoſition, it was carried in favor of the miniſtry by 270 voices to 78; and the remaining ones were with the ſame facility evaded, or negatived without a diviſion[*]. Another attempt was in a few days made by Mr. Hartley, a very reſpectable member of oppoſition, to effect an accommodation of this fatal quarrel, by moving "that letters of requiſition ſhould be iſſued, agreeably to antient precedent, under authority of the crown, with a view to procure a permanent and voluntary contribution from the ſeveral colonies towards the general expences of the empire:" but this was negatived without a diviſion.

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[*] Theſe propoſitions of Mr. Burke may be conſidered as compriſing the mature and deliberate plan of the Rockingham party, for the reſtoration of the public tranquility, to which purpoſe they were moſt wiſely and happily adapted. The ſpeech by which they were enforced is by far the moſt valuable of Mr. Burke's productions; it can never be too much ſtudied or admired. Of the ſpeaker it can only be ſaid, *O ſi ſic omnia dixiſſet!*

At this period the city of London once more ventured to breathe her fruitleſs requeſts in the ear of majeſty, by an addreſs, remonſtrance, and petition, which was diſtinguiſhed by the remarkable circumſtance of its being preſented to the king by Mr. Wilkes, in his official capacity of lord mayor, to which civic dignity he had been elected at the cloſe of the preceding year. In this remonſtrance the citizens of London declared "their abhorrence of the meaſures which had been purſued, and were then purſuing, to the oppreſſion of their fellow-ſubjects in the colonies. Not deceived by the ſpecious artifice of calling deſpotiſm dignity, they ſaid, they plainly perceived that the real purpoſe was to eſtabliſh arbitrary power over all America. Theſe meaſures, they affirmed, were carried into execution by his majeſty's miniſters, by the ſame fatal corruption which had enabled them to wound the peace and violate the conſtitution of this country. Your petitioners therefore, they ſay, do moſt earneſtly entreat your majeſty to diſmiſs immediately and for ever from your councils thoſe miniſters and adviſers, as the firſt ſtep towards a redreſs of thoſe grievances which alarm and afflict your whole people."—The following anſwer was, in a tone of marked and unuſual emotion, delivered from the throne: "It is with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment that I find any of my ſubjects capable of encouraging the rebellious diſpoſition which unhappily exiſts in ſome of my colonies in North America. Having entire confidence in my parliament, the great council of the nation, I will ſteadily purſue thoſe meaſures which they have recommended for the ſupport of the conſtitutional rights of Great Britain, and the protection of the commercial intereſts of my kingdoms."

Towards the cloſe of the ſeſſion the houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee, at the motion of the miniſter, to conſider the encouragement proper to be given to the fiſheries of Great Britain and Ireland. Bounties were granted to the ſhips from either kingdom employed in the Newfoundland or Greenland fiſheries; Ireland was allowed to export tools and implements for the purpoſes of the fiſheries; and by two reſolutions not connected with the original motion, and intended as an additional douceur, it was rendered lawful, 1. to export from Ireland clothing for ſuch regiments on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment as were employed abroad; and by the 2d, five ſhillings per barrel bounty was allowed on the importation of flax-ſeed into that kingdom. But theſe trivial conceſſions rather excited the contempt than the gratitude of that long oppreſſed and long ſuffering nation.

On the 15th of May Mr. Burke preſented to the houſe a paper ſtyled, a repreſentation and remonſtrance from the general aſſembly of New York. This province, accounted leſs diſaffected than any other, and which in conjunction with North Carolina had hitherto refuſed an unreſerved acquieſcence in the reſolutions of the congreſs, had not been included in the late reſtraining acts. But, at the ſuggeſtion of the miniſter, this remonſtrance was rejected by the houſe, as containing claims inconſiſtent with the unlimited authority of Great Britain:—a fortunate circumſtance for America, as this refuſal completed that union which it was the policy, though in this inſtance counteracted by the pride, of the court to obſtruct or diſſolve. A memorial from the ſame body was at the ſame time preſented to the houſe of peers, by the duke of Mancheſter; but their lordſhips would not ſuffer it to be read, affirming that the *title* of the paper rendered it inadmiſſible;

ſible; though it was obſerved by the noble mover, that the loweſt commiſſioned officer in the ſervice had an unqueſtioned right to preſent a memorial to the king; ſo that it was not eaſy to conceive how the term in queſtion could militate againſt their lordſhips' dignity. At length this extraordinary ſeſſion was brought to a cloſe, and the king was pleaſed to expreſs from the throne "the moſt perfect ſatisfaction in the conduct of his parliament, and his entire conviction that the moſt SALUTARY EFFECTS muſt reſult from *ſuch meaſures*, formed and conducted on *ſuch principles*." What theſe *effects* were, we muſt now turn our eyes to the continent of America in order to aſcertain.

All EUROPE ſaw with amazement the ſpirit of raſhneſs and folly which at this criſis reigned in the councils of Britain, and which prompted her to treat with ſuch unparalleled harſhneſs and diſdain thoſe colonies which, in better and happier times, ſhe had cheriſhed with fond affection; and of which ſhe might truly and proudly boaſt, that as no nation had ever formed colonial eſtabliſhments on principles ſo liberal, no colonies had ever, in ſo ſhort a period, attained to ſuch proſperity, or ſo amply rewarded the paternal cares of the country from which they ſprang. FREDERIC the third, king of Pruſſia, that great monarch, who, combining in his own perſon the characters of the hero, the philoſopher, and the ſtateſman, may be conſidered as not inferior to any ſovereign who has ever ſwayed the ſceptre of any country, has left upon record, in terms very explicit and remarkable, his ſentiments reſpecting the conduct and policy of the Engliſh government in relation to America. "ENGLAND," ſays he, "at this period, had involved herſelf in a war with the colonies, undertaken in the ſpirit of deſpotiſm, and conducted in that of folly. It was BUTE who ſtill governed the king, and directed the councils of the kingdom. Like one of thoſe malignant ſpirits who are perpetually talked of, and never ſeen—he enveloped himſelf in profound darkneſs, whilſt, by means of his ſecret inſtruments and emiſſaries, he moved the whole political machine at his pleaſure. His ſyſtem was that of the antient TORIES, who maintain the unlimited power of the crown to be neceſſary to the public welfare. Haughty and harſh in his deportment, little ſolicitous as to the ſelection of the means which he employed in the accompliſhment of his purpoſes, his obſtinacy could be exceeded only by his indiſcretion; a civil liſt of one million ſcarcely ſufficed to gratify the venality of parliament. The Engliſh nation, DEGRADED by its SOVEREIGN, appeared to have no will ſeparate from that of the court. But, as if this was not enough, the miniſter Bute engaged the king to attempt an arbitrary taxation of the American colonies, at once to augment his revenues, and to eſtabliſh a precedent which might at a future time be imitated in Great Britain. The Americans, whom the court had not deigned to corrupt, oppoſed themſelves openly to theſe impoſts, ſo contrary to their charters, their cuſtoms, and to the liberties which they had enjoyed uninterrupted ſince their firſt eſtabliſhment. A wiſe government would have haſtened to appeaſe theſe growing troubles, but the court of London acted upon other principles. The rigor and violence of their proceedings completed the alienation of the Americans. A congreſs was convened at Philadelphia, in which it was determined to ſhake off the Engliſh yoke; and from this time we ſee Great Britain engaged in a ruinous war with her own colonies. France, the perpetual rival of England, ſaw with pleaſure theſe civil commotions, and ſecretly encouraged the Americans to defend their rights againſt the deſpotiſm which George III. was deſirous to eſtabliſh, by holding out to them a proſpect of future ſuccours*." During the courſe of the preceding win-

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* "L'ANGLETERRE étoit engagée dans une guerre civile avec ſes colonies, enterpriſe par eſprit de deſpotiſme, conduite avec mal-adreſſe. C'eſt l'Ecoſſois BUTE qui gouverne le Roi et le Royaume: ſemblable à ces eſprits mal-faiſans dont on parle toujours, et qu'on ne voit jamais—il s'enve-

loppe

ter 1774-5, no tranſactions of ſufficient moment to demand a particular recital had occurred in America. Military preparations continued to be made with unremitting ardor, and the cannon and ſtores belonging to government were ſeized by the provincials in Rhode-Iſland and other parts; as, on the contrary, general Gage had made various ſeizures of ammunition, powder, &c. depoſited in the vicinity of Boſton. The king's ſpeech, and the ſubſequent proceedings of parliament, left no hope of accommodation; for the reſolution and reſentment of America roſe in proportion to the arbitrary and oppreſſive acts of Britain: and a ſingle ſpark only was now wanting to ſet the whole continent in a flame. General Gage, having intelligence of a conſiderable magazine depoſited at the town of Concord, about twenty miles diſtant from Boſton, where the provincial congreſs was alſo held, detached, on the night preceding the 19th of April, 800 grenadiers and light infantry, under the command of colonel Smith, who proceeded

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loppe ainſi que ſes opérations des plus profondes ténèbres. Ses émiſſaires, ſes créatures ſont les reſſorts avec leſquels il meut cette machine politique ſelon ſa volonté. Son ſyſtème politique eſt celui des anciens TORYS, qui ſoutiennent que la bonheur de l'Angleterre demande que le Roi jouiſſe d'un pouvoir deſpotique. Impérieux et dur dans le gouvernement, peu ſoucieux ſur le choix des moyens qu'il emploie, ſa mal-adreſſe dans le maniement des affaires l'emporte encore ſur ſon obſtination. Un million de livres ſterlins que la nation paye annuellement au Roi pour l'entretien de ſa Liſte Civile ne ſuffiſoit qu'à peine pour contenter la vénalité des membres du parlement. La nation dégradée par ſon ſouverain même n'eut depuis d'autre volonté que la ſienne. Mais, comme ſi ce n'étoit pas aſſez, le lord Bute engagea le Roi à taxer des impôts arbitraires les colonies Americaines, autant pour augmenter ſes revenus que pour donner un exemple qui par la ſuite des tems pût être imité dans la Grande Bretagne. Les Americains, qu'on n'avoit pas daigné corompre, s'opposèrent ouvertement à cet impôt ſi contraire à leurs droits, à leurs coutumes, et ſurtout aux libertés dont ils jouiſſoient depuis leur établiſſement. Un gouvernement ſage ſe ſeroit hâté d'appaiſer ces troubles naiſſans; mais le miniſtère de Londres agit d'après d'autres principes. La dureté et la violence acheva de ſoulever les Americains. Ils tinrent un congrès à Philadelphe, où, renonçant au joug Anglois qui deſormais leur devenoit inſupportable, ils ſe declarèrent libres et indépendans. Dès-lors voilà la Grande Bretagne engagée dans une guerre ruineuſe avec ſes propres colonies. La France, toujours rivale de l'Angleterre, voyoit avec plaiſir les troubles. Elle encourageoit ſous main l'eſprit de revolte, et animoit les Americains à ſoutenir leurs droits contre le deſpotiſme que le Roi George III. vouloit y établir, en leur préſentant en perſpective les ſecours qu'ils pouvoient attendre."—Œuv. de Frederic III. tome iv.

proceeded on their march with great ſilence; but by the firing of guns and ringing of bells they at length perceived themſelves diſcovered; and on their arrival at Lexington, at five in the morning, they found the company of militia belonging to that place drawn up on the Green; on which major Pitcairn, who led the advanced guard, cried out, "diſperſe, rebels! throw down your arms, and diſperſe!" This not being immediately complied with, he ordered the ſoldiers to fire; eight or ten of the provincials were killed, and the reſt ſpeedily retreated. The king's troops immediately marched on to Concord, deſtroyed ſuch ſtores as they found, and ſpiked three or four pieces of iron cannon. On their return, the paſſage of a bridge being diſputed by a party of provincials, a ſkirmiſh enſued, in which ſeveral men were killed on both ſides; and the whole country being by this time alarmed; roſe on all quarters, preſſing cloſe upon their rear; and a ſcattering and irregular fire was alſo directed againſt them from behind trees, houſes, and hedges, which ſupplied the place of lines and redoubts. It fortunately happened, that general Gage, apprehenſive of the danger of the ſervice, had early in the morning ordered lord Percy, with a ſecond detachment equal in number to the firſt, and two field pieces, to march to Lexington, where they were joined in a ſhort time by colonel Smith, who would otherwiſe have found great difficulty in forcing his way back to Boſton, his ammunition being entirely expended. As ſoon as the troops reſumed their march, they were again haraſſed and aſſailed in the ſame manner as before; and with great fatigue and great damage, they at length arrived about ſun-ſet at Charleſtown, whence they croſſed the harbor in boats to Boſton, under the protection of the Somerſet man of war. In the different actions of the day, the loſs of the king's troops was eſtimated at near 300 men, in killed, wounded, and priſoners, while that of the provincials did not exceed 90. Such was the inauſpicious commencement of this diſaſtrous war, and ſo ill did facts correſpond with the boaſtful language of thoſe BOBADILS, who had threatened that at the head of a few regiments they would carry terror through the continent. The ſword being once drawn, the Americans ſeemed determined to throw away the ſcabbard. In a few days after the engagement at Lexington, the provincial congreſs of Maſſachuſetts reſolved, that 30,000 men be forthwith raiſed, of which generals Ward, Putnam*, Heath, and Thomas, were appointed to the command: and a great military force collecting in the vicinity of Boſton formed the complete blockade of that important town.

On the 10th of May 1775, the general congreſs, regardleſs of the circular letter of lord Dartmouth, forbidding in the king's name the election of delegates, met at Philadelphia; and among their firſt acts were, reſolutions for raiſing a continental army, and eſtabliſhing a paper currency; alſo a declaration, That, by the late violation of the charter of Maſſachuſetts Bay, the compact between the crown and that colony was diſſolved. The colonies of New York and North Carolina now declared their fixed reſolution to unite with the other provinces in every effort to retain their juſt rights and liberties. The conciliatory propoſition of lord North being taken into conſideration, it was unanimouſly rejected; and for this rejection the congreſs aſſigned their reaſons at large and in a very maſterly manner. "If," ſay they in their public declaration, "we accede to this propoſal, we declare without reſervation, we will purchaſe the favor of parliament, not knowing at what price they will pleaſe to eſtimate it. We think the attempt unneceſſary to raiſe upon us by force or threats our proportional contributions for the common defence; when all know, and themſelves acknowledge, we have fully contributed whenever called upon to do ſo in the character of freemen. We are of opinion, it is not juſt that the colonies ſhould be required to oblige themſelves to other contributions, while Great Britain poſſeſſes a monopoly of their trade; this of itſelf lays them under heavy contributions. To demand therefore additional aids in the form of a tax, is to demand the double of their equal proportion. If we are to contribute equally with the other parts of the empire, let us equally with them enjoy free commerce with all the world."

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* General Putnam, who had ſerved with reputation under lord Amherſt at the head of the Connecticut troops during the laſt war, had long ſince retired to a remote farm, which he cultivated with his own hands: and when the intelligence of his appointment was notified to him, he was found, like another Cincinnatus, in a leathern frock and apron, occupied amongſt his laborers in fencing-in his land. Without a moment's heſitation—within eighteen hours repairing to the head-quarters at Lexington, which was little ſhort of an hundred Engliſh miles diſtant.

At the latter end of May, the generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, arrived at Boſton, with large reinforcements of troops; ſo that the entire force ſtationed in that place or its vicinity was now become very conſiderable, not leſs than 10,000 men. A proclamation was alſo iſſued by general Gage, offering a pardon, in the king's name, to all who ſhould forthwith lay down their arms; excepting only from the benefit of this amneſty, Samuel Adams and John Handcock, who were deſtined to condign puniſhment. All thoſe who did not accept of the proffered mercy were declared rebels and traitors, and martial law eſtabliſhed till the colony was reſtored to the king's peace. No other notice was taken by the congreſs, of this proclamation, than to chooſe Mr. Handcock preſident of that aſſembly. At the ſame time GEORGE WASHINGTON, eſq. was unanimouſly choſen general and commander in chief of the continental army. This gentleman had diſtinguiſhed himſelf early in life by his gallant exertions in the late war, particularly on the memorable day of the defeat of general Braddock; when, at the head of the provincial militia, he covered the retreat of the regular forces, and prevented the total ruin of the royal army. Since the termination of the war, he had reſided upon his eſtate at Mount Vernon, on the banks of the Potowmac, a beautiful and romantic ſpot ſituated in the interior parts of Virginia, ſolely occupied in the arts of agricultural improvement and cultivation. His character for underſtanding, probity, and patriotiſm ſtood in the higheſt degree of eſtimation. His perſonal accompliſhments correſponded with thoſe of his mind; and his countenance and figure were ſingularly noble and engaging. No choice ever met with more general and zealous approbation, nor ever reflected in the event more honor on the judgment and ſagacity of thoſe by whom it was made. The new general ſignified his acceptance of this high and arduous appointment in a very handſome ſpeech, in which he modeſtly declared his incompetency to the command, which he ſtyled "a field too boundleſs for his abilities, and far, very far beyond his experience: but in obedience to the call of his country, he would, without heſitation, enter upon this momentous duty, and exert every power he poſſeſſed, in ſupport of ſo glorious a cauſe; at the ſame time informing the aſſembly, that he would receive no pecuniary emoluments in compenſation of his ſervices." Horatio Gates, eſq. was appointed by the congreſs adjutant-general, and Artemas Ward and Charles Lee, eſqrs. firſt and ſecond major-generals. The laſt of theſe officers was a man of extraordinary and eccentric genius, who had ſerved with great reputation in Portugal and elſewhere during the laſt war. Paſſionately attached to the principles of democratic liberty, rather from a proud diſdain of ſuperiority than from the pure and genuine ardor of benevolence, on the proſpect of a war with the colonies, he had reſigned his commiſſion in the Britiſh army, and immediately offered his ſervices to congreſs, by whom they were gladly accepted; and on his military talents, ſkill, and experience, they juſtly placed very great dependence.

The Engliſh generals, weary of their confined ſituation, and feeling no doubt the diſgrace of being with ſo great a force blockaded by an enemy they had affected to deſpiſe, had formed a plan to poſſeſs themſelves of the heights of

Dorcheſter, ſouthward of the town: but, on the morning of the 16th of June 1775, they were greatly ſurpriſed at the appearance of a redoubt, breaſt-work and entrenchment thrown up in the night on an eminence called Bunker's Hill, to the north of Boſton, on a peninſula divided by a narrow channel from that on which the town of Boſton itſelf is ſituated. A reſolution was immediately taken to attack this poſt, from which they were liable to be ſo much annoyed; and a detachment of 3000 choſen troops was immediately ordered on the ſervice, under the command of general Howe. The troops aſcended the hill with great reſolution, but with ſlow and deliberate ſtep. The Americans, under the direction of the old veteran Putnam, reſerving themſelves till the Britiſh forces were within ten or twelve rods, then poured in an unexpected and furious fire, which ſuddenly arreſted their progreſs, and threw them into great diſorder. Being rallied by the exertions of their officers, they again advanced, till a ſecond diſcharge again threw them into a ſimilar confuſion. The generals Howe and Clinton, now placing themſelves at the head of the troops, and for a time almoſt unſupported, led them on to a third attack; and the redoubt being now aſſailed on both ſides, and enfiladed by the cannon from the ſhips and batteries, the provincials were compelled to abandon their works, retreating acroſs the iſthmus to Cambridge with conſiderable loſs. But on the part of the Britiſh, not leſs than 1100 were killed or wounded, and amongſt them 89 officers, who were particularly aimed at by the American riflemen. This was one of the warmeſt and moſt bloody conflicts ever known for the time it laſted, and the number of men engaged: and it was remarked, that at the battle of Minden, where the Britiſh infantry ſuſtained the fire of the whole French army, the officers ſuffered much leſs, and of privates the loſs was ſcarcely greater. In the heat of the action, Charles-town, a ſort of ſuburb to Boſton, ſituated on the oppoſite peninſula, and containing ſeveral hundred houſes, was ſet on fire by the Britiſh forces, and entirely conſumed.

In the beginning of July, general Waſhington arrived at the head-quarters near Boſton: he was received with all civic and military honors, and an addreſs of congratulation was preſented to him by the aſſembly of Maſſachuſetts; in return for which he declared, that his higheſt ambition was to be the happy inſtrument of vindicating the common rights of America, and of reſtoring that devoted province to peace, liberty, and ſafety. The town of Boſton, together with the poſt now occupied by the Engliſh at Bunker's Hill, continued to be cloſely inveſted; and though the American army was at this time extremely deficient in power, ammunition, and military ſtores of every kind, happily no attempt was made by the Engliſh generals to moleſt them. The general congreſs had, in the beginning of June, come to an important reſolution, that the colonies of America would not only continue to grant extraordinary aids in time of war, but alſo, if allowed a free commerce, pay into the ſinking fund ſuch a ſum annually for an hundred years, as ſhould be more than ſufficient in that time, if faithfully applied, to extinguiſh ALL the preſent debts of Britain. But the intelligence at this period arriving of the prohibitory and other MAD ACTS of the Britiſh parliament, it was not ſuffered to be entered upon the minutes. Georgia having now acceded to the confederacy, which from this time aſſumed the appellation of the Thirteen United Colonies; they iſſued, in July, a declaration, ſetting forth the cauſes and neceſſity of their taking up arms. "WE are reduced," ſay they, "to the alternative of unconditional ſubmiſſion or reſiſtance by force; the latter is our choice. We have counted the coſt of this conteſt, and find nothing ſo dreadful as voluntary ſlavery. Honor, juſtice, and humanity forbid us tamely to ſurrender that freedom which we received from our anceſtors, and which our poſterity have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of reſigning ſucceeding generations to that wretchedneſs which inevitably awaits them, if we baſely entail hereditary bondage upon them." This declaration was read at the head of every regiment, and received with great applauſe and acclamation. At the ſame time, and as the laſt effort for effecting an accommodation, the congreſs reſolved upon a ſecond petition to the KING, which, though leſs eloquent than the firſt, was expreſſed in terms the moſt guarded, temperate, and reſpectful; and ſo flattering were the hopes conceived of its happy effects by thoſe who ſighed for the return of peace, that it received, by a ſort of general aſſent, the appellation of the "Olive Branch." This petition was tranſmitted to England through the highly reſpectable medium of Mr. Penn, proprietary governor of the province of Pennſylvania, and a lineal deſcendant of that famous and beneficent legiſlator, in whoſe eſtimation the ſword and the ſceptre were equally ſuperfluous, and in compariſon with whom Solon and Lycurgus hide their diminiſhed heads. "Attached," ſay the petitioners, "to your majeſty's perſon, family, and government, with all the devotion that principle and affection can inſpire; connected with Great Britain by the ſtrongeſt ties that can unite ſocieties; and deploring every event that tends in any degree to weaken them; we ſolemnly aſſure your majeſty, that we not only moſt ardently deſire that the former harmony between her and theſe colonies may be reſtored, but that a concord may be eſtabliſhed between them upon ſo firm a baſis, as to perpetuate its bleſſings, uninterrupted by any future diſſenſions, to ſucceeding generations in both countries; to tranſmit your majeſty's name to poſterity, adorned with that ſignal and laſting glory that has attended the memory of thoſe illuſtrious perſonages whoſe virtues and abilities have extricated ſtates from dangerous convulſions, and, by ſecuring happineſs to others, have erected the moſt noble and durable monuments to their own fame. We beg leave further to aſſure your majeſty, that, notwithſtanding the ſufferings of your loyal coloniſts during the courſe of the preſent controverſy, our breaſts retain too tender a regard for the kingdom from which we derive our origin, to requeſt ſuch a reconciliation as might in any manner be inconſiſtent with her dignity or her welfare; and, the apprehenſions that now oppreſs our hearts with unſpeakable grief being removed, your majeſty will find your faithful ſubjects on this continent ready and willing at all times, as they have ever been, with their lives and fortunes to aſſert and maintain the rights and intereſts of your majeſty and of our mother country. We therefore beſeech your majeſty, that your royal authority and influence may be graciouſly interpoſed to procure us relief; with all humility ſubmitting to your majeſty, whether it may not be expedient that your majeſty be pleaſed to DIRECT ſome MODE by which the united applications of your faithful coloniſts to the throne may be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation." To this petition, which Mr. Penn delivered into the hands of the earl of Dartmouth on the 1ſt of September, he was, after a ſhort interval, informed that "NO ANSWER WOULD BE GIVEN!"

Sanguine hopes had been entertained by the Engliſh court, that the inhabitants of Canada might be induced to take an active part in this war againſt America: and twenty thouſand ſtand of arms were actually ſent to Quebec, for the uſe of the Canadians. But a very general diſcontent pervaded the minds of the people on account of the late bill; and the militia of the province, on being applied to by the governor, general Carleton, abſolutely refuſed to paſs the limits of it—declaring, that this was a quarrel which did not concern them, and in which they were determined to take no part. The diſpoſitions of the Canadians being thus aſcertained, a project was formed for the invaſion of that province, which, as no danger was apprehended, was protected by a very inconſiderable force. General Montgomery, with an army not exceeding 3000 men, being appointed to conduct this expedition, immediately proceeded to St. John's, ſituated on the banks of Lake Champlain, before which he encamped on the 17th of September 1775. After a very gallant defence, that important fortreſs was ſurrendered on the 2d of November; Chamblée being alſo in the mean time captured by a ſeparate detachment. General Montgomery now preſſed on to Montreal, which being deemed incapable of reſiſtance, general Carleton quitted it with precipitation one day, and the American general entered it in triumph the next. Nearly at the time that theſe tranſactions took place, Ticonderoga and Crown Point were ſurpriſed by an irregular band, haſtily collected, of *Green-Mountain-men*, and other inland ſettlers, under the command of a bold partiſan, ſtyled by his followers colonel Allen; and on the other ſide colonel Arnold, an officer of diſtinguiſhed courage and activity in the ſervice of the congreſs, after ſuffering incredible hardſhips in traverſing a rude and pathleſs wilderneſs during a march of thirty one days, aſcending by the Kennebeck, and deſcending by the Chaundiere, at length reached Point Levi, on the ſouthern bank of the St. Laurence, where he expected the arrival of Montgomery. General Carleton was now reduced to a very critical ſituation. Immediately on the evacuation of Montreal, he was conveyed in a boat with muffled paddles down the river to Quebec—a precaution very neceſſary, as the Americans had by ſurpriſing exertions made themſelves maſters of the navigation of St. Laurence. The governor now made every poſſible preparation for a vigorous defence. On the 1ſt December, general Montgomery joined colonel Arnold before Quebec, the garriſon of which conſiſted, including provincials and marines, of about one thouſand ſix hundred men. Notwithſtanding the extreme ſeverity of the ſeaſon in this inclement climate, general Montgomery immediately began erecting his batteries, which, by a perfect novelty in military ſcience, being compoſed of ſnow and water, ſoon became ſolid ice. But finding his artillery make little impreſſion, he determined on a general aſſault; this was attempted in two different quarters of the town, the ſeveral diviſions being commanded by colonel Arnold and the general in perſon. In the firſt onſet general Montgomery, leading on his men with undaunted reſolution, was killed by a diſcharge of grape ſhot; and his troops falling into immediate diſorder, were repulſed with much ſlaughter. On the other ſide colonel Arnold, by great exertions of courage, forced the firſt barrier; but before he could attempt the ſecond, the whole ſtrength of the garriſon, in conſequence of the cataſtrophe in the oppoſite quarter, was collected againſt him. Colonel Arnold himſelf received a dangerous wound in the leg by a muſquet ball, and was compelled to retire to the camp. The Americans of this diviſion, being now attacked both in front and rear, were, after a brave reſiſtance, at length obliged to lay down their arms, and ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. This was a very complete victory on the part of the governor, whoſe ſkill and courage on this occaſion merited every eulogium. Nevertheleſs, to fortune was he in a great degree indebted for his ſucceſs, the fall of the American commander being abſolutely deciſive of the event. The character of general Montgomery, judging from the uniform tenor of his conduct throughout this memorable expedition, and from the united teſtimony of all America in his favor, could not eaſily be eſtimated too highly. To the courage of the ſoldier he joined the military ſkill of the general, and the virtues of the man. He is ſaid to have poſſeſſed a mind highly cultivated, and a perſon and addreſs eaſy, graceful, and manly. He was of the number of thoſe favored and exalted few, "whom both MINERVAS call their own." When his body was taken up, his features were not in the leaſt diſtorted, but his countenance appeared regular, placid, and ſerene, He was interred with all military and funeral honors by the governor, who had the magnanimity to eſteem and acknowledge ſuperior excellence even in an enemy. What appears moſt aſtoniſhing is, that colonel Arnold, with the ſhattered remains of his troops, now far inferior in number to the garriſon, was yet able to continue the blockade of the city, and to reduce it to great diſtreſs for the want of proviſions.

It is neceſſary to caſt a tranſient view at the ſtate of affairs at this period in the principal provinces of the continent. Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia, had adopted the reſolution, in conſequence of the diſputes long ſubſiſting between him and the people, and which roſe by degrees to the greateſt violence, to take refuge on board the Fowey man of war, in the month of June; to which he ſtrangely attempted to transfer the ſittings of the aſſembly—a requiſition with which the legiſlative body abſolutely refuſed compliance. His lordſhip being diveſted of his authority carried on a ſort of predatory war againſt the province, proclaimed martial law, and immediate emancipation to all negroes and indented ſervants able and willing to bear arms in his majeſty's ſervice —a meaſure which cauſed the greateſt irritation and reſentment, without being productive of any adequate advantage. At length an event took place, which completed the alienation of the Virginians from the Engliſh government. A demand was made by the ſhipping in the bay of Cheſapeak, to the inhabitants of the town of Norfolk, for proviſions and other ſupplies for his majeſty's ſervice; which being peremptorily refuſed, a heavy cannonade was commenced againſt the town, the richeſt and moſt flouriſhing in the province, and in a few hours it was reduced to aſhes—the loſs being eſtimated at three hundred thouſand pounds. In the adjacent country of Maryland the wiſdom and moderation of governor Eden prevented theſe fatal extremities; and, when the Britiſh government was at length entirely ſuperſeded, he retired from the province, carrying with him the eſteem and admiration of every party, and almoſt of every individual. In the Carolinas, lord William Campbell and governor Martin, adopting the policy of lord Dunmore, were alſo compelled to withdraw for ſafety on board the king's ſhips lying off the coaſt. In Pennſylvania, a military aſſociation was eſtabliſhed throughout the province; and a ſimilar ſpirit, indicating itſelf in different modes, pervaded the whole chain of colonies from the frozen deſerts of Nova Scotia to the burning ſands of Florida.

In the Maſſachuſetts Bay, the town of Falmouth, from ſimilar cauſes of offence with that of Norfolk, was ſet on fire, and deſtroyed by a tremendous cannonade, in the courſe of which above three thouſand ſhot, beſides bombs and carcaſſes, were thrown into the place. The garriſon of Boſton was maintained at an incredible expence by ſupplies from England, a great proportion of which was intercepted by the American cruizers; and the town continued cloſely blockaded during the whole winter. Towards the end of February 1776, it was determined by general Waſhington to take poſſeſſion of the heights of Dorcheſter, ſituated in a peninſula ſtretching into the bay to the ſouth of Boſton. All the previous preparations being made, a party of two thouſand men, on the evening of the 4th of March, paſſed in profound ſilence the neck or iſthmus, followed by three hundred carriages with entrenching tools. It being bright moonlight, they continued working till day break, when two redoubts were completed, as if by the power of enchantment, to the inexpreſſible aſtoniſhment of general Howe, who was informed by the admiral that he could not, while the enemy poſſeſſed thoſe heights, be reſponſible for the ſafety of his majeſty's ſhips in the harbor. A reſolution was immediately taken by the general, now chief in command by the departure of general Gage, to diſlodge them: but a prodigious ſtorm of wind, ſucceeded by a deluge of rain, effectually prevented the meditated attack; and the works, having been nevertheleſs carried on in the mean time with unremitted diligence by the Americans, were now judged too ſtrong to be carried by a *coup-de-main*, and it was determined to evacuate the town. Another work being thrown up, which from its proximity had the entire command of Boſton-neck, this determination was moſt precipitately carried into execution early in the morning of the 17th of March 1776; when the whole of the troops, together with ſuch of the inhabitants as were attached to the royal cauſe, put to ſea on board the tranſports lying in the harbor, though very inſufficient in number for the purpoſe; and after a tempeſtuous and dangerous voyage they at length landed ſafely at Halifax. On the ſucceeding day general Waſhington entered the town in triumph, and found there a great quantity of ſtores and proviſions which the Engliſh commander had neither time to remove or to deſtroy. Compliments of congratulation were paid to the American general on this occaſion by the convention of Maſſachuſetts.

Some time previous to this event, the Oneidas and other Indian nations had ſent a deputation, to that aſſembly, of their chiefs and warriors, who, in the ſimple ſtyle of Indian eloquence, diſcloſed the purport of their commiſſion in the following terms: "BROTHERS! we have heard of the unhappy differences and great contention between you and OLD ENGLAND. We wonder greatly, and are troubled in our minds. Brothers, poſſeſs your minds in peace reſpecting us Indians. WE cannot intermeddle in this diſpute between two brothers. The quarrel ſeems to us unnatural. You are two brothers of one blood; we bear an equal affection to both. Should the GREAT KING apply to us for aid, we ſhall deny him; if the colonies apply, we ſhall refuſe. We Indians cannot find or recollect in the traditions of our anceſtors a caſe ſimilar to this. Brothers, were it an alien that had ſtruck you, we ſhould look into the matter. We hope, through the wiſe government and good pleaſure of GOD, your diſtreſſes may be ſoon removed, and the dark clouds be diſperſed. Brothers, as we have declared for peace, we deſire you will not apply to our Indian brethren for aſſiſtance. Let us Indians be all of one mind, and you white people ſettle your diſputes betwixt yourſelves." Happy would it have been, had the Indian nations uniformly adhered to this wiſe policy, of which the aſſembly to whom this diſcourſe was addreſſed declared their high and entire approbation. But many of the ſavage tribes bordering on the great lakes and rivers were prevailed upon, by the ſolicitations and laviſh preſents of the Britiſh agents, to take up the hatchet in behalf of the GREAT KING. Colonel Johnſon, ſon of the famous Sir William Johnſon, was moſt ſucceſsful in theſe direful negotiations: and a great war-feaſt was made by him on the occaſion, in which, according to the horrid phraſeology of theſe barbarians, they were invited "to banquet upon a Boſtonian, and to drink his blood."

The parliament of Great Britain, after a ſhort receſs, met at Weſtminſter, October 26, 1775; and the ſeſſion was opened by an unuſually long and elaborate *oration* from the throne, containing charges againſt the colonies the moſt wild and extravagant—accuſing them of *a deſperate conſpiracy*, and of harboring a premeditated deſign to effect a total revolt; whilſt, taking advantage of the *moderation and forbearance* of parliament, they hoped to amuſe by vague expreſſions of attachment to the parent ſtate, and of loyalty to the ſovereign. "This rebellious war, it is affirmed, is manifeſtly carried on for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing an independent empire; and it is now become the part of wiſdom, and in its effects of clemency, to put a ſpeedy end to theſe diſorders by the moſt deciſive exertions—for which purpoſe his majeſty had greatly increaſed his military and naval eſtabliſhments, and he had alſo received the moſt friendly offers of foreign aſſiſtance. When the unhappy and DELUDED MULTITUDE, againſt whom this great force will be directed, ſhall become ſenſible of their error, he declared himſelf ready to receive the miſled with tenderneſs and mercy; for which purpoſe he had given authority to certain perſons upon the ſpot, to grant general or particular pardons and indemnities, and to receive the ſubmiſſion of any province or colony which ſhould be diſpoſed to return to its allegiance." Upon the whole, this ſpeech breathed a moſt inveterate and determined ſpirit of animoſity againſt the colonies; and nothing leſs than abſolute, unreſerved, and unconditional ſubmiſſion was held out as the price by which peace was to be purchaſed.

During the ſummer receſs of parliament, the duke of Grafton, lord privy ſeal, who had long viewed with extreme ſolicitude and concern the violent meaſures adopted by the majority of the miniſters, but who had been induced in a certain degree to concur with and countenance theſe proceedings by the moſt poſitive aſſurances of a ſpeedy and peaceable termination of the controverſy, now perceiving a bloody and unnatural war in full proſpect, determined no longer to take any ſhare of the reſponſibility attached to his exalted ſtation. But thinking it proper, previous to his reſignation, to make one more effort to procure a change of ſyſtem, his grace wrote, in the month of Auguſt, a letter to lord North, expreſſing "his loyal and grateful attachment to his majeſty, and his zealous deſire to ſee the government flouriſh under the adminiſtration of the noble lord to whom it was now entruſted;" at the ſame time ſtating his own clear and decided opinion, the reſult of much ſerious reflection, that ſome effectual means ought to be adopted for the purpoſe of terminating our preſent unfortunate differences with America. His Grace remarked, "That the inclinations of the majority of perſons of reſpectability and property in England differed in little elſe than words from the declarations of the congreſs—That if deputies from the *united colonies* CANNOT be acknowledged by the king, other expedients might be deviſed, by which the wiſhes and expectations of his majeſty's American ſubjects might be ſtated and properly conſidered—That a *want of intercourſe* had hitherto been, and muſt ſtill remain, an inſuperable bar to accommodation. His grace obſerved, that the idea of a powerful party in America ready to avow their loyalty under the protection of a military force was now vaniſhed. It is evident that, as the means of offence are increaſed, America has alſo in the ſame proportion increaſed her means of defence; that the event of ſuch a ſtruggle muſt be hopeleſs, diſgraceful, and ruinous; and his grace concluded his letter, written at this critical and perilous juncture, by ſuggeſting one mode at leaſt by which intercourſe and negotiation might commence, under a generous offer of a truce to the revolted colonies, ſanctioned by the addreſs of both houſes to the king, on various motives of policy, affection, and humanity." To this letter the duke received a polite and reſpectful, though very unſatisfactory anſwer from lord North, upon the whole purporting that meaſures of coercion were unalterably determined upon.

On the receipt of the congreſs petition, delivered to lord Dartmouth by Mr. Penn, his grace again renewed his ſolicitations with the miniſters for the adoption of a pacific ſyſtem, but with no better effect. The duke then, as the laſt reſource, requeſted an audience of the KING, in which he ſtated to his majeſty, without reſerve, his reaſons why he could no longer take any part in the adminiſtration of affairs. The king liſtened with attention, and condeſcendingly endeavored to demonſtrate to his grace, by calm diſpaſſionate reaſoning, the juſtice, the policy, and neceſſity of this war, and the abſolute certainty of ultimate ſucceſs; and finding that he was unable to effect the conviction he wiſhed, he flatteringly expreſſed his regret at parting with ſo experienced and faithful a ſervant.

On the uſual motion in the houſe of lords for an addreſs in anſwer to the ſpeech from the throne, lord Rockingham in the moſt pointed terms condemned the meaſures recommended in it, as bearing the moſt portentous aſpect to the Britiſh empire, and fraught with the moſt ruinous conſequences. The charge againſt the colonies of aiming at independence his lordſhip ſeverely reprehended, as totally unfounded: "but what," ſaid his lordſhip, "they never originally intended, we may certainly *drive* them to—they will undoubtedly prefer independence to ſlavery." The charge of making inſidious profeſſions of duty was equally reprobated. On the contrary, it was obſerved by his lordſhip, that they had from the beginning declared, in terms the moſt explicit, that they never would ſubmit to be arbitrarily taxed by any body of men whatever. They did not WHISPER their complaints, but fairly told the world what they would do if urged to extremity. What, his lordſhip aſked, was that *lenity of parliament* ſo much boaſted of in the ſpeech? Was it to be diſcovered in the Boſton port bill? in the fiſhery bill? in the Maſſachuſetts charter bill? or in the indemnity and encouragement held out to military licenſe in the bill which profeſſes as its object the *impartial* adminiſtration of juſtice? Miniſters, ſaid his lordſhip, have been warned ſeſſion after ſeſſion of the danger in which they were involving themſelves and the country; but the ſources of information which miniſters relied upon were the falſe, partial, illiberal repreſentations of ſelfiſh, artful, and deſigning men, who had held public offices in America, and who by this means were glad to gratify at once their intereſt, their prejudices, and their revenge. His lordſhip concluded an excellent ſpeech by moving an amendment to the addreſs—"That, deeply impreſſed with the melancholy ſtate of public concerns, they would on mature deliberation endeavor to apply the moſt effectual means of reſtoring order to the diſtracted affairs of the Britiſh empire, &c."

The duke of Grafton now roſe to ſupport the amendment, and in a particular manner attracted the attention of the houſe and of the public, by an open and ingenuous acknowledgment that he had by miſinformation and miſrepreſentation been induced to give countenance to a plan the moſt abhorrent from his mind and opinion—being repeatedly aſſured that the mere appearance of coercion would ſuffice to eſtabliſh a perfect reconciliation. His grace declared, that he could no longer heſitate as to the part he ought to take, being now fully convinced, that nothing leſs than a total repeal of the American laws paſſed ſince the year 1763 could reſtore peace and happineſs, or prevent thoſe fatal conſequences which he could not even think of without grief and horror. Such, he ſaid, was the ſtrength of his conviction, that no perſonal conſideration whatever could induce him to refrain from giving his moſt determined oppoſition to the meaſures actually purſued, and to thoſe which he underſtood were yet in contemplation. After a long and vehement debate, the amendment of lord Rockingham was rejected by 69 voices to 29, and the original motion, on a ſecond diviſion, carried by 76 voices to 33. But the lords in the minority entered upon the journals a moſt ſpirited and vigorous proteſt againſt it. "We have beheld with ſorrow and indignation," ſay their lordſhips, "freemen driven to reſiſtance by acts of oppreſſion and violence. We cannot conſent to an addreſs which may deceive his majeſty and the public into a belief of the confidence of this houſe in the preſent miniſtry, who have diſgraced parliament, deceived the nation, loſt the colonies, and involved us in a civil war againſt our cleareſt intereſts, and upon the moſt unjuſtifiable grounds, wantonly ſpilling the blood of thouſands of our fellow ſubjects."

On the reſignation of the duke of Grafton, lord Dartmouth, whoſe mild temper was ill calculated to enforce the preſent bloody and coercive meaſures, was advanced to the dignity of lord privy ſeal; and lord George Germaine, ſo famous, or rather infamous, under his former appellation of lord George Sackville, who, after a long courſe of oppoſition, had uniformly voted with the court on the queſtions relative to America, was appointed to the vacant poſt of ſecretary of ſtate for the colonies. The moſt odious of taſks was now therefore properly aſſigned to the moſt odious of inſtruments. Lord Rochford alſo at this time chooſing to retire from public buſineſs, the earl of Weymouth was reinſtated in the office of ſecretary for the ſouthern department, reſigned by his lordſhip in the year 1771. The debate on the addreſs in the houſe of commons was chiefly diſtinguiſhed from that of the lords by the high offence which ſeemed to be taken by many of the country gentlemen, and ſome other members who uſually voted with the adminiſtration, at that clauſe in the ſpeech from the throne in which his majeſty mentioned the introduction of a body of his electoral forces into the garriſons of Port Mahon and Gibraltar; and the correſponding clauſe in the addreſs, thanking his majeſty for the ſame. This was, not without reaſon, repreſented as a meaſure in the higheſt degree unconſtitutional and dangerous; and, the miniſter not ſeeming very willing to give any ſatisfaction on this head, many gentlemen left the houſe without voting. On the report, the oppoſition was renewed with freſh vigor; and a motion being now formally made by one of the country members for inſerting in lieu of the obnoxious clauſe, the words, "And we will immediately take into our conſideration the meaſure of introducing foreign troops into any part of the dominions of Great Britain without the previous conſent of parliament;" the miniſter began to ſee the neceſſity of making ſome conceſſion; and, quitting the high but unſure ground of authority, he now declared, "that though he believed the meaſure to be right, as other gentlemen for whom he had the higheſt deference ſeemed to be of another opinion, he had no objection that the matter ſhould be brought in a regular and parliamentary manner before the houſe, that its adviſers might, if the neceſſity of the caſe required it, receive the benefit of an act of indemnity." This acknowledgment brought back the deſerters to the miniſterial ſtandard, and the addreſs finally paſſed by a great majority. In the ſequel, a bill of Indemnity was actually brought into the houſe of commons, and paſſed with general approbation; but after great debate it was, little to the ſatisfaction of the public, rejected by the lords.

On the 10th of November, 1775, the duke of Richmond moved for the examination of Mr. Penn at the bar of the houſe of lords, to which the peers in adminiſtration gave a very reluctant aſſent. In the courſe of this remarkable examination, it appeared that no queſtion had been aſked of Mr. Penn, or any enquiry made by miniſters ſince his arrival in England, although he had been governor of the colony in which the congreſs held their ſeſſion, and was held in univerſal eſteem as a man of great candor, ability, and information. He declared his firm belief, "that the congreſs had hitherto entertained no deſigns of independency; that the members of that aſſembly were men of character, fairly elected, and fully competent to declare the ſenſe of their conſtituents; that the different provinces would certainly be governed by their deciſions; that the war was levied and carried on by the coloniſts, merely in defence of what they conceived to be their undoubted rights and liberties; that the ſpirit of reſiſtance was general, and that they believed themſelves able to defend their liberties againſt the arms of Great Britain; that the colonies had been greatly diſſatisfied with the reception of their former petitions, but had formed great hopes on the ſucceſs of that brought over by him, which was ſtyled by them 'The Olive Branch,' and that he had been congratulated by his friends upon his being the bearer of it: that it was greatly to be feared, that, if conciliatory meaſures were not ſpeedily purſued, they would form connections with foreign powers, and that ſuch connections, once made, it would be found very difficult to diſſolve. He affirmed, that the prevailing wiſh of America was reſtoration of friendſhip with England; but that the moſt intelligent men on the continent were of opinion, that a rejection of the preſent petition would prove an inſuperable bar to reconcilement. He ſaid that the Americans were well ſatisfied with the repeal of the ſtamp act, notwithſtanding the declaratory law which accompanied it; and if no innovations had been afterwards made, they would have remained content: that they would allow the imperial authority of Great Britain, but not its right of taxation." The examination being finiſhed, the duke of Richmond moved, "That the petition from the continental congreſs to the king was ground for a conciliation of the unhappy differences ſubſiſting between Great Britain and America." After a violent debate, the motion was negatived by 86 to 33 voices.

The miniſter having moved in the houſe of commons, that the land-tax for the year 1776 be four ſhillings in the pound, the country gentlemen were congratulated by the members in oppoſition on this additional taxation, as the firſt fruits of their darling ſcheme for the coercion of America; and it was predicted, that below the preſent level the land-tax would NEVER AGAIN BE REDUCED. The country members, irritated equally by the increaſe of the tax and the bitter ſarcaſms by which it was accompanied, and diſpleaſed alſo with the language now held by lord North, "that the conteſt was not for taxation but for ſovereignty," declared through the medium of their leaders, that they had ſupported government in its plans of coercion, in the firm perſuaſion that their burthens would be eventually diminiſhed by a great revenue to be drawn from America; but if the idea of a revenue were abandoned, they could not think of expending any more money in a conteſt attended with ſo many evils, and wholly unproductive of benefit; and they would therefore oppoſe the noble lord's motion for the increaſe of the land-tax. The miniſter, who was a great adept in the art of accommodation, and perfectly ſkilled in the ſcience of government *within the walls of that houſe*, inſtantly perceived the neceſſity, as at other times, and on other favorite points, of conciliating this occaſionally obſtinate and refractory claſs of members. He now therefore aſſured them, "that the idea of taxation, and of levying a productive revenue from America, was never abandoned; and that, when any thing of that ſort was affirmed, nothing more was meant than that it was dropped for the preſent; taxation being a matter of ſecondary conſideration only, when the ſupremacy of the country was at ſtake. He even declared, that no means exiſted by which the legiſlative authority and commercial control of this country over the colonies could be inſured, but by combining them with taxation." This explanation giving much ſatisfaction, the motion was carried by a great majority; and thus were theſe credulous and honeſt gentlemen, the loyal and zealous DE COVERLEYS of the houſe, led to believe, that a war carried on at ſo enormous and uncalculable an expence, was a war founded on the œconomical principle of reducing taxes and diminiſhing burdens; though it is remarkable, that the moſt ſanguine ideas of Mr. Grenville himſelf never extended to the expectation of extorting a revenue from America equal in amount to the intereſt of the loan already wanting, and which it would be annually neceſſary, under increaſing difficulties and diſadvantages, to raiſe, in order to eſtabliſh a claim which was now declared to be the object of the conteſt.

In the courſe of this month (Nov. 1775) a ſeries of motions made in the upper houſe by the duke of Grafton, for eſtimates to be laid before the houſe reſpecting the ſtate of the army in America, and the addition of force neceſſary for the ſervice of the enſuing campaign, were negatived without a diviſion. Parliament was left to wander in darkneſs and uncertainty, on pretence of the danger of giving any information that might reach the enemy. On the day ſucceeding this rejection, Mr. Burke moved for leave to bring in a bill "for quieting the preſent troubles in America," which was profeſſedly founded on the famous ſtatute paſſed in the 35th year of Edward I. known by the name of *Statutum de tallagio non concedendo.* He juſtly obſerved, "that ſovereignty was not in its nature an idea of abſolute unity, but was capable of great complexity and infinite modifications, according to the temper of thoſe who are to be governed, and to the circumſtances of things; which being infinitely diverſified, government ought to be adapted to them, and to conform itſelf to their nature, inſtead of vainly endeavoring to force that to a contrary bias; that the grand Seignior himſelf could not exerciſe his authority in the ſame manner, or the ſame degree, at Algiers or Tunis as at Conſtantinople; and that circumſtances not in our power to alter or control, made conceſſion on the ſubject of taxation indiſpenſably eſſential to the attainment of peace. Nothing worſe, ſaid this famous parliamentary orator, happens to you than to all nations poſſeſſing extenſive empires. In large bodies the circulation of power muſt be leſs vigorous at the extremities. Deſpotiſm itſelf is compelled to *truck* and *huckſter*. Three thouſand miles of ocean is a powerful principle in the natural conſtitution of things for weakening government, of which no contrivance can deſtroy the effect. Spain in her American provinces ſubmits to this immutable condition, the eternal law of extenſive and detached empire. A power ſteps in which limits the arrogance of the raging paſſions, and ſays, Hither ſhalt thou go, and no farther. Who are you, that you ſhould fret and rage, and bite the chain of nature? Such effects are incident to all the forms into which empire can be thrown. The great object of the preſent bill, he ſaid, was a renunciation of the exerciſe of taxation without at all interfering with the queſtion of right; it preſerved the power of levying duties for the regulation of commerce; but the money ſo raiſed, agreeably to an excellent idea ſuggeſted by the conciliatory motion of lord North, was to be at the diſpoſal of the ſeveral general aſſemblies. The tea duty of 1767 was to be repealed, and a general amneſty granted." This was a wiſe, ſimple, and rational plan of conciliation; and it met with a leſs unfavorable reception from the houſe than any hitherto attempted: But on a diviſion upon the previous queſtion, the numbers were 210 againſt 105 who voted in ſupport of the original motion.

In a few days after this, the miniſter brought in his famous prohibitory bill, interdicting all trade and intercourſe with the Thirteen United Colonies. By this bill, all property of Americans, whether of ſhips or goods, on the high ſeas or in harbor, are declared forfeited to the captors; ſo that it amounted in fact to an abſolute declaration of war. This, the oppoſition juſtly affirmed, was cutting off at the root all hope of future accommodation; and they pronounced it to be a formal ACT OF ABDICATION of our government over the colonies; it drove the two countries to the fatal extremity of abſolute conqueſt on the one ſide, or abſolute independency on the other. The offers of pardon, by which the bill was accompanied, were ſaid to be ridiculous when offered to men who acknowledge no crime, and who are conſcious not of doing, but merely of ſuffering, wrong. The repeal of the Boſton port, fiſhery, and reſtraining acts being included in this bill, as entirely ſuperſeded by the operation of it; Mr. Fox moved an amendment, to leave out the whole title and body of the bill excepting the parts relative to ſuch repeal. This produced a warm debate, which continued till midnight, when the amendment was rejected by a majority of 192 to 64 voices.

In the houſe of lords, the bill was again combated on every ground of policy, humanity, and juſtice. Lord Mansfield in the courſe of the debate remarked, "that we had paſſed the RUBICON, and were not now *at liberty* to conſider the queſtions of original right or wrong, juſtice or injuſtice. We were engaged in a war, and we muſt uſe our utmoſt efforts to obtain the ends propoſed by it; quoting in illuſtration the laconic ſpeech of a gallant officer ſerving in the army of Guſtavus Adolphus, who, pointing to the enemy, ſaid to his men, "See you thoſe lads? KILL them, or they will KILL you." Such were the abominable arguments now uſed to reconcile the minds of men to this unjuſt, cruel, and bloody war, by venerable and learned ſages wearing the robes and holding the balance of juſtice. The bill, after much objection and oppoſition, paſſed by a great and deciſive majority.

The only notice taken of the conciliatory propoſition of the miniſter was by the aſſembly of NOVA SCOTIA, which had tranſmitted a petition to parliament, preſented to the houſe on the firſt day of the ſeſſion, by the ſpeaker, founded on the baſis of that propoſition; and it was now moved by lord North, that the propoſal of a poundage duty *ad valorem* upon all commodities imported, not being the produce of the Britiſh dominions in Europe or America, to be diſpoſed of by parliament, ſhould be accepted, and the duty fixed at eight per cent. in lieu of all other taxes; and in reward of this dutiful overture, the act of navigation itſelf was in part diſpenſed with in their favor, and they were allowed to import ORANGES and LEMONS, and ſome other articles of equal importance, directly from the place of their growth and produce. But as this barren province was notoriouſly unequal to the ſupport of its own civil government, the offer of a revenue ſeemed to carry with it ſo ludicrous an appearance, that no bill was ever in the ſequel brought forward in conſequence of the reſolutions now paſſed.

A very extraordinary propoſition had been recently made by the earl Harcourt, lord lieutenant of Ireland, to the parliament of that kingdom, on the part of his majeſty, who had pledged his royal word that twelve thouſand regular troops on that eſtabliſhment ſhould always remain ſtationary in that country; requeſting four thouſand of the ſaid troops to be employed in the ſervice of Great Britain, and engaging that Ireland ſhould be relieved from the expence of the ſame; and ALSO, that the ſaid troops ſhould be replaced, if deſired, by four thouſand foreign proteſtant troops, to be *likewiſe paid by Great Britain.* Soon after the Chriſtmas receſs, a motion was made in the Engliſh houſe of commons, by Mr. Thomas Townſhend, "that the earl Harcourt was herein chargeable with a breach of privilege, and had acted in derogation of the authority of that houſe, and that a committee be appointed to enquire into the ſame. It was urged, that it was the higheſt preſumption in the lord lieutenant of Ireland to engage for the payment of any ſpecific ſums by the parliament of Great

Britain; and much worſe to pledge the parliament to the fulfilment of a contract ſo abſurd and extravagant as to defray the expence of eight thouſand men for the ſervice of four thouſand; and the deſign of introducing foreign troops into Ireland, was repreſented as fraught with danger and miſchief." The miniſter appeared not a little embarraſſed on this occaſion; and contented himſelf with ſaying, "that he was in no ſhape reſponſible for the conduct or actions of the lord lieutenant of Ireland; and he diſavowed any knowledge of the ſpecific inſtructions under which this requiſition had been made. He allowed that the bargain appeared improvident, but it might be defended on the ground of neceſſity; and if it were allowed to be more eligible to employ native troops than foreigners in America, it would be a ſufficient juſtification of the latter part of the propoſition." Mr. Jenkinſon, however, and others of *the king's friends*, who took part in the debate, aſſumed a much higher tone, and inſiſted upon his majeſty's RIGHT of introducing foreign forces into any part of his dominions, when the exigencies of the ſtate rendered it expedient or neceſſary. Mr. Jenkinſon aſſerted, "that the meſſage was worded in a manner perfectly agreeable to official uſage, and that the meaſure was in exact conformity with, or more properly conſtituted a part of, that antient and acknowledged prerogative, by which the crown raiſed troops of its own will, and then applied to parliament for the payment, or entered into treaties for the ſame purpoſe with foreign princes, and pledged the national faith for a due performance of the articles." That part of the motion which went to the appointment of a committee of enquiry was negatived by 224 to 106 voices, and the previous queſtion put on the clauſe of cenſure, which was carried without a diviſion.

Not diſcouraged by the ill ſucceſs of former attempts, Mr. Fox, on the 20th of February 1776, moved, "That it be referred to a committee, to enquire into the ill ſucceſs of his majeſty's arms in America." The vigour and comprehenſion of mind, the determined reſolution, the open and magnanimous diſpoſition of this ſenator, mature in judgment, though immature in years—excited hopes and expectations of eventual advantage to his country, which the malignant genius of Britain has hitherto delighted to diſappoint. "Declining," he ſaid, "at preſent to enter into the development of a ſyſtem whoſe principles and complexion afforded the cleareſt and moſt unequivocal proofs that its ultimate deſign was the TOTAL DESTRUCTION of the CONSTITUTION; he grounded his motion on the acknowledged fact, that there had been ſomewhere groſs ignorance, incapacity, or negligence. This muſt be imputed either to our miniſters at home, or our commanders abroad: and it was abſolutely neceſſary that the houſe ſhould be fully informed on the ſubject, in order that a remedy might be applied to the evil before the nation fell a victim to the treachery or miſconduct of men, on the one hand as unfit to deliberate and determine, as on the other to carry the meaſures ſo determined into execution. Public juſtice demanded ſuch an enquiry. None but the guilty could wiſh to evade it. Our commanders by ſea and land ought not to ſuffer the diſgrace attached to ill ſucceſs, in order to hide or palliate the blunders, the follies, the ſhameful and wretched inability of others." The adminiſtration appeared much chagrined and mortified at this expoſure of their weakneſs. It was acknowledged "that ill ſucceſs had hitherto attended the operations of the war, but that more vigorous meaſures would now be purſued; that a change of the former *lenient ſyſtem* had been announced from the throne; and it would be highly diſreſpectful and improper to enter into the examinations propoſed, until the meaſures now reſolved upon were tried, and the event known." The previous queſtion being put at three o'clock in the morning, the motion was rejected by a majority of 240 to 104.

The treaties recently entered into by his majeſty with the Landgrave of Heſſe, the duke of Brunſwick, &c. for hiring large bodies of their troops for the American ſervice, amounting to about eighteen thouſand men, having been laid before the houſe, and a motion made by the miniſter for referring them to a committee of ſupply, a vehement debate enſued. « Great Britain, it was ſaid, was now diſgraced in the eyes of all Europe—She was to be impoveriſhed, and what was ſtill worſe, degraded by an humiliating application to the petty princes of Germany for ſuccors to enable her to ſubdue her own ſubjects. Such alſo were the extravagant terms on which theſe troops were obtained, that the uſe of 18,000 mercenaries would not, taking in all contingencies, coſt the nation leſs than one million and a half ſterling. There were no limits to the extortion of theſe princely butchers, who ſold their ſubjects like ſo many beaſts for the ſlaughter. They were to have levy-money; they were to have a double ſubſidy; their corps were to be kept up complete; they were to be paid till the troops returned to their reſpective countries, and the ſubſidies were to be continued two years after the performance of the ſervice." In anſwer to theſe objections, the miniſters alleged, that the terms were more reaſonable, conſidering the diſtance and other diſagreeable circumſtances attending this novel ſervice, than could be expected; that had they been ſtill higher, neceſſity would have juſtified compliance. It was intimated, that ſo great a force would be employed, that theſe troops would have little more to do than to ſhew themſelves in America and return: that there was every reaſon to believe that the war would be terminated in a ſingle campaign, in which caſe the terms would be found very advantageous: if indeed it ſhould be protracted to a diſtant period, it was allowed that the expence would be enormous; but this was ſo improbable as to merit little conſideration. The queſtion was carried by the force of theſe reaſonings in favor of the court, by a majority of 242 to 88 voices.—The ſame queſtion was diſcuſſed with equal warmth in the houſe of peers, in conſequence of a motion of the duke of Richmond, for an addreſs to the king, "That his majeſty would be pleaſed to countermand the march of theſe troops;" and the duke of Cumberland, who had for ſome time paſt, as well as the duke of Glouceſter, voted in the minority, "lamented that Brunſwickers, once the advocates of liberty in Europe, ſhould now be ſent to ſubjugate it in America." The diviſion was in this houſe no leſs in favor of the miniſters than in that of the commons; the numbers, on putting the queſtion, being 100 to 32. On a demand unexpectedly made by the ſecretary of war for the ſum of 845,000l. for army extraordinaries, all the ardor of the oppoſition revived. They demonſtrated, by a reference to the journals, that neither the glorious campaign of 1704, which ſaved the German empire, nor that of 1760, which was crowned by the conqueſt of Canada, had in any degree equalled the expence of the diſgraceful campaign of the laſt year. Blenheim and Schellenburg were oppoſed to Lexington and Bunker's Hill; and the river Myſtic ludicrouſly contraſted with the Rhine and the Danube. The miniſters, apparently overwhelmed with a torrent of wit, argument, and invective, relied on this occaſion much more ſecurely on the ſtrength of their numbers than their cauſe, and the queſtion on a diviſion was carried by a majority of 180 to 57.

On the 14th of March, 1776, a very important motion was made by the duke of Grafton, "for an addreſs to the king, that in order to prevent the farther effuſion of blood, a proclamation might be iſſued, declaring, that if the colonies ſhall preſent a petition to the commiſſioners appointed under the late act, ſetting forth what they conſider to be their juſt rights and real grievances, that in ſuch a caſe his majeſty will conſent to a ſuſpenſion of arms; and that aſſurance ſhall be given them, that their petition ſhall be received, conſidered, and anſwered." This motion was deſigned and wiſely calculated to ſupply the palpable deficiency of the late commiſſion, which empowered the commiſſioners merely to grant pardons on ſubmiſſion, holding out by theſe means a mere deluſive ſhow of peace, without furniſhing the means indiſpenſable to its attainment. The noble mover obſerved, "that the adoption of the preſent motion, or of ſomething equivalent to it, excluſive of the evident reaſonableneſs of the thing, ſeemed to be rendered at this time abſolutely neceſſary by two circumſtances, to which his grace particularly called the attention of the houſe. The firſt was, the doctrine of UNCONDITIONAL SUBMISSION, ſo much inſiſted upon in the other houſe by the noble lord at the head of the American department. It was the object of the preſent motion to diſarm the Americans of the rage and horror which this doctrine had excited in their minds; and to inculcate the idea that there were terms and conditions implying mutual conceſſions, on which a ſatisfactory and permanent accommodation might be founded, and their conſtitutional rights ſecured. The ſecond circumſtance to which the noble mover alluded, was the certain intelligence which his grace had himſelf received, that two French gentlemen, charged, as there was good reaſon to believe, with a commiſſion of high and momentous import, had lately been introduced by general Waſhington to the congreſs, with whom conferences had been actually commenced. Thus a direct interference on the part of foreign powers in our civil contentions had undoubtedly taken place, and from a moſt dangerous and hoſtile quarter. No time was therefore to be loſt to counteract its effects, and upon the deciſion of the preſent moment the fate of the empire depended."

In vain were the powers of reaſon and eloquence exhauſted in ſupport of this motion. The ſpirit of infatuation and deluſion ſeemed to have attained to its *acmé*. The lords in adminiſtration openly avowed and vindicated the doctrine of *unconditional ſubmiſſion.* They aſſerted, that the power of granting pardons *with proper exceptions* was competent to every juſt and requiſite purpoſe; they aſſerted the impoſſibility of an effectual reſiſtance on the part of America; they declared their utter diſregard and diſbelief of any interference on the part of France, or any other foreign power, which, poſſeſſing colonies of its own, could never be ſo devoid of policy as to encourage the ſpirit of revolt in thoſe of another nation;"—not in the leaſt ſenſible that the whole tenor of their own conduct afforded the moſt ſtriking proof how infinitely motives of pride, paſſion, and revenge predominate in the heart of man and the councils of princes, over thoſe of reaſon, policy, and diſcretion. After a debate, continued to a very late hour, the motion was rejected by 91 voices to 31; and from this moment all rational hope of conciliation vaniſhed. What had been hitherto perfectly eaſy and feaſible, now became, by a change of circumſtances, deſperate and hopeleſs; and on hearing the deciſion of this memorable day, it might with fatal prophetic certainty be pronounced, "TIME IS PAST."

This was the laſt debate of importance in the preſent ſeſſion, which was terminated May 23, 1776, by a ſpeech, in which his majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to intimate "his hope, that his *rebellious ſubjects* would ſtill be awakened to a ſenſe of their errors; at the ſame time expreſſing his confidence, that if due, *i. e. unconditional*, ſubmiſſion could not be obtained by a voluntary return to their duty, it would be effectuated by a full exertion of the great force entruſted to him." WAR, in its moſt hideous form, was now therefore waged, without any proſpect or probability of accommodation. But though the miniſterial majorities in both houſes were ſo great, the nation at large might be conſidered as much more equally divided upon this grand queſtion. At the head of thoſe who were zealous for the proſecution of the war in all its terrors, may be accounted the KING himſelf, who being

ing moſt unfortunately and dreadfully miſinformed and miſled in the whole of this buſineſs, conceived that the DIGNITY of his CROWN was beſt vindicated by thoſe meaſures of coercion which could be carried into effect only by the devaſtation of his dominions and the ſlaughter of his ſubjects. The powerful remains of the once numerous and now favored faction of the tories, including a large proportion of the landed intereſt, recently combined by a ſtrange political phænomenon with the veteran and faithful band of placemen, penſioners, and *king's friends*; and, in a word, all whoſe fortunes or expectancies depended on the ſmiles of the court, were to a man eager and ardent in their hopes and wiſhes to ſee America proſtrate at his majeſty's feet. A great majority of the clergy of the eſtabliſhed church alſo entered into the views of the court, to which they were now cordially reconciled, with a degree of political fervor, heightened, as to many of them, into inexpreſſible malevolence againſt the colonies by the indelible taint of religious bigotry. The Americans were perpetually branded by this claſs of men, as fanatics, hypocrites, puritans, or, in one word, as SECTARIES, a term which in the ears of an high-churchman of the genuine ſtamp, is far more hateful than that of infidel or atheiſt. The ſpirit of *high-churchiſm*, which is a compound eſſence exhaled from the ingredients of pride, ignorance, malice, prejudice and folly, has, during this reign, been in a regular and progreſſive ſtate of increaſe; and as the ſame cauſes which have operated ſtill continue to operate, it is probable that until ſome violent convulſion is produced by a new Laudian or Sheldonian perſecution, the tide will continue to flow in the ſame channel and direction. Excluſive of theſe different claſſes of men, it muſt alſo be acknowledged, that a conſiderable number of reſpectable perſons, who valued themſelves, however inconſiſtently, upon their attachment to *whig principles*, joined the party of the court, from a moſt erroneous idea, that the principles of *whiggiſm* inculcated the doctrine of the OMNIPOTENCE of PARLIAMENT; not conſidering,

ſidering, that the eſſential and immutable difference ſubſiſting in the relative ſituations of Great Britain and America made that doctrine, which, in oppoſition to the arbitrary power of the crown, was conſidered as the baſis of liberty in England, the eſſence of tyranny to the colonies; and the unreſtrained power of taxation in particular, was on ſeveral accounts more likely to be abuſed by a popular aſſembly, in its exerciſe over a diſtant community, than by an abſolute monarch. On the other hand, the great body of the whigs, headed by various families of the higheſt rank, to whom power had been chiefly entruſted ſince the æra of the revolution till the acceſſion of the preſent ſovereign, held the war in abhorrence and deteſtation; and they conceived reſiſtance to be equally juſtifiable to the tyranny of the many as of the few, or the mere will of a deſpot. The commercial part of the community, with the city of London conſpicuous in the van, were for the moſt part extremely averſe to the war, from which they experienced great inconvenience; and which, unfettered by the entanglements of political theories, they perceived by the clear light of common ſenſe to have no rational end or object. A conſiderable proportion of the clergy, men candid, impartial, intelligent, and truly attached to the principles of civil and religious liberty, joined in lamenting this diſaſtrous and fatal quarrel. The whole body of diſſenters, and the ſectaries of all denominations, threw the entire weight of their numbers and influence into the ſame ſcale; many of theſe employed their pens ably and eloquently in the cauſe of America, amongſt whom by far the moſt diſtinguiſhed was the celebrated Dr. Richard Price, a diſſenting miniſter of extraordinary learning and talents, who had recently written with profound ſkill on the ſubject of the national finances, and the powers of the ſinking fund; the reſtoration of which he urged with great energy. And his ideas on the ſubject, though long treated as chimerical, have been at length adopted by the preſent miniſter, Mr. Pitt, whoſe famous ſinking fund bill was framed in ſtrict conformity to the ideas ſuggeſted by this excellent and diſintereſted patriot, who diſdained any other reward than that reſulting from the conſciouſneſs of the ſervices he had rendered to his country. On the preſent occaſion he publiſhed "OBSERVATIONS on the juſtice and policy of the WAR with AMERICA," which had a rapid and prodigious ſale, and produced an incredible number of replies; for to reply was eaſy, though to confute impoſſible. "IN a FREE STATE," ſays this admirable writer, "all the ſprings of action have room to operate, and the mind is ſtimulated to the nobleſt exertions. The ſubjects of free ſtates have in all ages been moſt diſtinguiſhed for genius and knowledge. With what luſtre do the antient free ſtates of Greece ſhine in the annals of the world! How different is that country now under the Great Turk! The difference between a country inhabited by MEN and by BRUTES is not greater. Theſe are reflections which ſhould be conſtantly preſent to every mind in this country. There is nothing that requires more to be watched than power; there is nothing that ought to be oppoſed with more determined reſolution than its encroachments. Sleep in a ſtate, as Monteſquieu ſays, is always followed by ſlavery. In governing diſtant provinces, and adjuſting the claſhing intereſts of different ſocieties, it is particularly neceſſary to make a ſparing uſe of power in order to preſerve power. Happy would it have been for Great Britain, had this been remembered by thoſe who have lately conducted its affairs. But our policy has been of another kind. By a progreſſion of violent meaſures, every one of which has increaſed diſtreſs, we have given the world reaſon to conclude, that we know no other mode of governing than by force. But our rulers ſhould have conſidered that freemen will always revolt at the ſight of a naked ſword, and that the complicated affairs of a great kingdom holding in ſubordination to it a multitude of diſtant communities, all jealous of their rights, and warmed with ſpirits as high as our own, require not only the moſt ſkilful but the moſt cautious and tender management. The conſequence of a different management we are now feeling. We ſee ourſelves driven among rocks, and in danger of being loſt: pride and the love of dominion are principles hateful enough, but blind reſentment and the deſire of revenge are infernal principles. One cannot help indeed being aſtoniſhed at the virulence with which ſome ſpeak, on the preſent occaſion, of the colonies—for what have they done? Have they croſſed the ocean and invaded us? Have they attempted to take from us the fruits of our labor, and to overturn that form of government which we hold ſo ſacred? On the contrary, this is what we have done to them. We have tranſported ourſelves to their peaceful retreats, and employed our fleets and armies to ſtop up their ports, to deſtroy their commerce, and to burn their towns;—and yet it is WE who imagine ourſelves ill uſed. Had we never deſerted our old ground; had we nouriſhed and favored America with a view to commerce, inſtead of conſidering it as a country to be governed; had we like a liberal and wiſe people, rejoiced to ſee a multitude of free ſtates branching forth from ourſelves, all enjoying independent legiſlatures ſimilar to our own: had we aimed at binding them to us only by the ties of affection and intereſt, and contented ourſelves with a moderate power rendered durable by being lenient and friendly, an umpire in their differences, an aid to them in improving their own free governments, and their common bulwark againſt the aſſaults of foreign enemies; had this been our policy and temper, there is nothing ſo great or happy that we might not have expected. Inſtead of this, how have we acted? —It is in truth too evident, that our whole conduct has been nothing, to ſay the beſt of it, but a ſeries of the blindeſt rigour followed by retraction—of violence followed by conceſſion—of miſtake, weakneſs, and inconſiſtency. Did ever Heaven puniſh the vices of a people more ſeverely by darkening their counſels? In the Netherlands, a few ſtates ſimilarly circumſtanced with thoſe of America, withſtood for 30 years the whole force of the Spaniſh monarchy when at its zenith, and at laſt humbled its pride, and emancipated itſelf from its tyranny. The citizens of Syracuſe, alſo thus circumſtanced, withſtood the whole power of the Athenians. The ſame happened in the conteſt between the houſe of Auſtria and the cantons of Switzerland. There is an infinite difference between fighting to deſtroy and fighting to preſerve liberty. Were we therefore capable of employing a force againſt America equal to its own, there would be little probability of ſucceſs: but to think of conquering that whole continent with thirty or forty thouſand men, to be tranſported acroſs the Atlantic, and fed from hence, and incapable of being recruited after any defeat; *this* is indeed a folly ſo great, that language does not afford a name for it. Perhaps I am not in the preſent inſtance free from the weakneſs of ſuperſtition, but I fancy I ſee in theſe meaſures ſomething that cannot be accounted for merely by human ignorance. I am inclined to think that the hand of Providence is in them, working to bring about ſome great ends. But ſuppoſe the attempt to ſubjugate America ſucceſsful, would it not be a fatal preparative for ſubduing yourſelves? Would not the diſpoſal of American places, and the diſtribution of an American revenue, render that influence of the crown irreſiſtible which has already ſtabbed your liberties? Turn your eyes to INDIA: there, more has been done than is now attempted in America: there, Engliſhmen, actuated by the love of plunder and the ſpirit of conqueſt, have depopulated whole kingdoms, and ruined millions of innocent people by the moſt infamous oppreſſion and rapacity. The juſtice of the nation has ſlept over theſe enormities. Will the JUSTICE of HEAVEN ſleep? ARE WE NOT NOW EXECRATED ON BOTH SIDES OF THE GLOBE?"—For this publication the writer was deſervedly honored with the thanks of the city of London, and the freedom of that metropolis was preſented to him in a gold box, by an unanimous vote of the corporate body.

During the pauſe of anxious ſuſpenſe preceding the commencement of the memorable campaign of 1776 in America, it will not be improper to take a general review of the ſtate of Europe for ſome years paſt, and of its actual ſituation; his majeſty having in his late ſpeech aſſerted, that the diſpoſition of the ſeveral powers of the continent promiſed a continuance of the general tranquillity.

FRANCE, in an hiſtoric ſketch of this kind, muſt neceſſarily occupy the fore-ground of the picture. The death of Louis XV. who, for the long term of nine-and-fifty years, reigned with abſolute and arbitrary ſway over that vaſt monarchy, had taken place nearly at the commencement of the preſent troubles (May 10th, 1774.) He was ſucceeded by his grandſon Louis the Dauphin, who had ſcarcely as yet attained the twentieth year of his age. This young prince had in the year 1770 married the Arch-Ducheſs Marie Antoinette, daughter of the empreſs-queen —a princeſs endowed with all the faſcinating graces of her ſex; by which apparently auſpicious alliance, according to the ſhort-ſighted views of human policy, the peace of Europe, ſo often diſturbed by the contentions of the rival houſes of Bourbon and Auſtria, ſeemed to be firmly cemented and ſecured. A great acquiſition of revenue and territory had recently accrued to France by the death of Staniſlaus, king of Poland (February 1766,) in a far advanced age; in conſequence of which event, the duchies of Lorraine and Bar, poſſeſſed by that monarch in full property during his life, reverted to France, agreeably to the treaty concluded A. D. 1736, with the court of Vienna, under the fortunate auſpices of cardinal Fleury.

The latter years of the life of the late king of France were paſſed in a ſeries of political conflicts with the ſeveral parliaments of that kingdom, particularly the parliament of Paris; which high and auguſt tribunal ſtill retained, by means of its conſtitutional privilege of enregiſtering the royal edicts, without which they had no legal validity, ſome degree of control over the actions of the monarch. And this relique of their antient independency, by which alone the ſacred fire of liberty could be diſcerned to exiſt in France, the parliament appeared with reaſon to guard with the moſt vigilant jealouſy. An edict having been iſſued in the royal name, by which new and extraordinary powers were transferred to the great council, incompatible with the eſtabliſhed rights of the parliaments of the kingdom, remonſtrances were preſented to the king from moſt of thoſe bodies; and in that offered by the parliament of Paris (May 19, 1768) is the following remarkable paſſage: —"Your parliament, ſire, is not afraid on this head to remind your majeſty of the ever memorable words which the firſt preſident Harley addreſſed to Henry III. in 1586. "Sire," ſaid the magiſtrate, "we have two ſorts of laws: —one ſort are the ordonnances of our kings, and theſe may be altered according to the differences of times and circumſtances; the other ſort are the ordonnances of the kingdom, which are inviolable, and by which you aſcend to the throne and to the crown, which your predeceſſors preſerved. Among theſe public laws, that is of the moſt ſacred kind, and has been moſt religiouſly kept by your predeceſſors, which orders that no law or ordonnance ſhall be publiſhed but what is verified in this aſſembly—They thought a violation of this law was a violation of that by which they were made kings."

It was afterwards propoſed, at an extraordinary ſeſſion, to ſtate to the king that the exiſtence of the grand council itſelf was a grievance. This, however, was negatived, the duc de Choiſeul and the princes of the blood attending in perſon to oppoſe the motion, by a majority of two voices; and the parliament contented itſelf with preſenting another memorial to the king, ſhewing the neceſſity of aſcertaining the limits of its juriſdiction, and ſecuring the parliament againſt its encroachments by a clear and poſitive law. But the parliament of Touloufe, leſs moderate, iſſued an arrêt by which all perſons were forbidden, under ſevere penalties, to conform to, or execute any judgmenr of the grand council within the province of Languedoc.

Scarcely had the ferments excited by this obnoxious procedure of the court in any degree ſubſided, when a new and far more ſerious conteſt aroſe in conſequence of the memorable proſecution commenced in the parliament of Paris againſt the duc d'Aiguillon, governor of the province of Bretagne, for high crimes and miſdemeanors in the adminiſtration of his government. While the nation was waiting in anxious ſuſpenſe the reſult of this trial, which had already diſcloſed a ſcene of cruelty and injuſtice ſcarcely to be paralleled, the king thought proper to hold a *bed of juſtice*, in which he commanded an edict to be enregiſtered ſuppreſſing the charges brought againſt this nobleman, and prohibiting any farther proceedings againſt him. The parliament of Paris, on re-aſſembling, iſſued an arrêt, by which the duke was forbidden to take his ſeat in parliament, or to exerciſe any of the functions of the peerage, till a legal acquittal had taken place. This arrêt was annulled by a decree of the king in council, declaring it to be an infringement of the royal authority.

The parliament notwithſtanding, by a ſolemn act, confirmed their former reſolution; and ſtrong repreſentations were made to the king by the different *chambers*, particularly by that of the peers and princes of the blood, againſt his proceedings, as ſubverſive of all law, juſtice, and equity. The provincial parliaments alſo paſſed arrêts in approbation and confirmation of that of Paris, and the duchy of Aiguillon was ſequeſtered till the trial of the duke ſhould be legally terminated. At length the king in perſon, attended by his guards, entered without any previous notice the parliament houſe, and, after reproaching the members in the ſevereſt terms, ordered all the judicial acts againſt the duc d'Aiguillon to be eraſed from their regiſters; and, in menacing language, prohibited all revival of the proceedings againſt him. The parliament nevertheleſs, unintimidated, iſſued at their next meeting another arrêt, in which they declare, that the many acts of arbitrary power exerciſed both againſt the ſpirit and letter of the conſtitution of the French monarchy, and the ſolemn oath of the king, leave no room to doubt of a premeditated deſign to change the form of government. The diſpute continued with increaſing violence to the following year. The king having cauſed by force an edict to be enregiſtered, by which the indiſpenſable obligation of the ſovereign courts of juſtice to enregiſter the royal edicts, even in oppoſition to their own ſentiments and remonſtrances, was explicitly declared, the parliament entered a ſolemn proteſt againſt the ſame, as contrary to the laws they had ſworn to defend, and reſolved upon a total ſuſpenſion of the functions of the courts.

The mandate of the king to revoke this decree being peremptorily rejected, the members of the parliament were, in the night of the 19th of January 1771, ſeverally arreſted by virtue of *lettres de cachet*, and a new tribunal was erected in the room of the exiled parliament, compoſed of men entirely devoted to the court. Scarcely had they entered into office when they were formerly pronounced, by an arrêt of the parliament of Rouen, to be intruders, uſurpers, and enemies to the ſtate. The court, irritated and enraged, had determined on the moſt violent meaſures; but the duc de Harcourt, governor of Normandy, refuſed to take the command of the troops appointed for this ſervice. The other provincial parliaments adopting a ſimilar line of conduct, were in the courſe of the year ſuppreſſed and baniſhed; and new parliaments, wholly dependent on the court, ſubſtituted in their room at Beſançon, Bourdeaux, Aix, Toulouſe, and Rennes. To ſhew the utter contempt of the court for the public opinion, the duc de Choiſeul, who had indicated a diſpoſition in ſome degree favorable to the riſing ſpirit of liberty, was diſmiſſed with unuſual marks of reſentment and diſgrace, and the duc d'Aiguillon ſucceeded him in the office of firſt miniſter.

The agitation of the nation at theſe proceedings cannot be expreſſed. The monarch became the object of univerſal reproach and execration, and not the monarch merely, but the monarchy itſelf. That form of government to which the French nation had been for ages ſo zealouſly attached, ſunk moſt ſenſibly in the public eſtimation. The tide of opinion began to flow in an oppoſite direction, and a republican party was viſibly forming, which however ſmall in its beginnings, might well be regarded, under that corrupt and depraved government, as truly dangerous and formidable. Scarcely were the appearances of decorum preſerved on the death of the king; and the appellation of Louis *le deſiré*, unanimouſly given to his ſucceſſor, was the bittereſt ſatire on his memory.

The young monarch, deſirous of recommending himſelf to the favor of his ſubjects, began his reign with the diſmiſſion of the duc d'Aiguillon, and his deteſtable co-adjutors, the chancellor Maupeou, and the comptroller general L'Abbé Terrai, which was regarded as the certain prelude of the reſtoration of the antient parliaments; and on the 12th November 1774, the recall of the parliament of Paris took place amid the unbounded acclamations of the people. The language of the monarch on this memorable occaſion was nevertheleſs very high and haughty. In his ſpeech on holding the bed of juſtice, he declared to the parliament, "that he was determined to preſerve his authority in all its plenitude, and that he expected they would give to his ſubjects an example of ſubmiſſion." He told them, "that the king his grandfather was compelled, by their reſiſtance to his repeated commands, to adopt ſuch meaſures as his wiſdom ſuggeſted; and that as he had thought proper to recall them to the exercise of thoſe functions, which they ought never to have quitted, he deſired them to learn to prize his favors, and never to loſe the remembrance of their extent." A royal ordonnance was then read, containing the various limitations by which the monarch thought proper to reſtrain the authority of this aſſembly—one very important article of which peremptorily required the parliament to enregiſter the royal edicts in a month at fartheſt after the day of their publication, unleſs the king ſhould *graciouſly permit* the repetition of their remonſtrances; and his majeſty concluded with a promiſe of "his royal protection and countenance ſo long as they *exactly conformed* to what he had preſcribed, and they did not attempt to enlarge the bounds of the power which was *granted to them*."

It very ſoon appeared, after the acceſſion of the new monarch, though himſelf of a diſpoſition pacific and unambitious, and extremely limited in his capacity, how little dependence was to be placed on the amity and good faith of France. A powerful party immediately aroſe at the court, of which the QUEEN, a woman of high ſpirit, buſy, bold, and blind to conſequences, was conſidered as the head. Diſſolute in her manners, unprincipled in her morals, faithleſs in her promiſes, this princeſs wanted only the talents of her predeceſſor Catherine of Medicis, to be as illuſtriouſly diſtinguiſhed for guilt—BUT HER MISFORTUNES HAVE ATONED. This faction burned with a deſire to avenge the diſgraces of the laſt war; and America received every encouragement to perſiſt in her reſiſtance to the oppreſſion of England, that was conſiſtent with even the appearance of a decent regard to the occaſional remonſtrances and memorials of the court of London. The queen alſo was believed to be actuated by an ardent deſire of advancing the intereſts of the houſe of Auſtria, by involving France in contentions which would effectually prevent any interpoſition of that power in oppoſition to the ſchemes of aggrandizement projected by her brother the emperor. In the mean time the views of M. de Maurepas, the new miniſter,

niſter, were aſſiduouſly directed to the extenſion of commerce, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the French marine.

"The ſituation of France," ſays the king of Pruſſia in reference to the preſent period, "though far from brilliant, did not the leſs merit the attention of other powers. Her debts made it impracticable for her to ſuſtain a long war; but, ſtrong in her alliance with Spain, and in the aſſiſtance thence to be derived, ſhe was watching the moment to fall like a falcon upon her prey, and avenge herſelf upon Great Britain for the diſaſters ſhe had ſuffered during the preceding war. England was at this time, under the YOKE of the TORIES, engaged in a ruinous conteſt, which augmented the national debt thirty-ſix millions of crowns per annum. For the purpoſe of ſtriking a blow upon her right arm with her left, ſhe exhauſted all her reſources, and advanced with haſty ſteps to her decline and fall. Her miniſters ACCUMULATED faults; but of all theſe the greateſt was the WAR with AMERICA, from which no poſſible advantage could reſult. She had needleſsly, and without reaſon, embroiled herſelf with all the ſurrounding powers, and to her own miſconduct only could England aſcribe that ſtate of deſertion and general abandonment in which ſhe now found herſelf*."

That union of counſels which ſince the æra of the family compact had marked the politics of the Bourbon courts, ſtill ſubſiſted in its full vigor. In order to conſolidate the friendſhip of the two crowns, the late king of France had made an entire ceſſion of the province of Louiſiana to Spain, without any other apparent motive or equivalent. In his moſt chriſtian majeſty's letter, dated April 21, 1764, to M. d'Abadie, director general and commandant of the colony of Louiſiana, notifying this extraordinary ceſſion, he ſays, "By a ſpecial act done at Fontainebleau (Nov. 3d, 1762), of my own will and mere motion having ceded to my very dear and beſt beloved couſin the king of Spain, and his ſucceſſors, in full property, purely and ſimply, and without any exceptions, the whole country known by the name of Louiſiana, together with New Orleans, and the iſland in which the ſaid city is ſituated: You are, on the receipt of theſe preſents, to deliver up, to the governor or officer appointed by the king of Spain, the ſaid country and colony of Louiſiana."

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* OEUVRES de FREDERIC II. vol. iv. p. 164, 165.

The diſcontents prevailing in Spain ſince the acceſſion of the preſent king, and which at length broke out in open inſurrection, were appeaſed by the diſmiſſion of the marquis de Squillacio, and the other Neapolitans who had accompanied the ſovereign from Italy; and the attention of the court of Madrid had been for ſome years chiefly occupied with the means of effecting the expulſion of the Jeſuits from the kingdom; which was at length carried into execution with circumſtances of relentleſs cruelty, not inferior to thoſe which diſtinguiſhed the expulſion of the Moriſcoes in the laſt century. The other branches of the houſe of Bourbon, France, Naples and Parma, followed the example ſet by Spain; and this once famous and flouriſhing order of religioniſts now found themſelves in almoſt every country the objects of reproach, hatred, and perſecution. Urgent ſolicitations were made by the catholic powers to the pope Clement XIII. for the utter abolition of this order; but the holy father, notwithſtanding the ſeizure of Avignon by France, and Benevento by Naples, in order to enforce a compliance, perſiſted in a peremptory and poſitive refuſal.

A very remarkable edict having been publiſhed by the infant duke of Parma, virtually annihilating the authority of the papal ſee in his dominions, the Roman pontiff iſſued, January 1767, a BULL againſt the duke, in terms which the haughtieſt of his predeceſſors could ſcarcely have exceeded. By this inſtrument the pope claimed to himſelf the ſovereignty of the duchy of Parma, and declared the duke to be only his feudatory. He pronounced, on the authority of the church, and of former deciſions of his predeceſſors, that eccleſiaſtics are not ſubject to any temporal power or laic juriſdiction; and that ſeeing the duke had been guilty of an infringement of the immunities of the church, he had juſtly incurred its heavieſt cenſures; and unleſs he deſiſted from his raſh enterpriſe, he now gave him warning, "that the ſentence of excommunication would be denounced againſt him, and his dominions laid under an interdict." Nor on the joint application of the courts of France, Spain, and Vienna, would his holineſs deign to revoke this decree, or even admit the ambaſſadors of theſe powers to an audience. As the common father of the faithful, the pope diſclaimed indeed every idea of executing any decree of the holy ſee by the aid of temporal force, were it in his power. On the contrary, he declared himſelf ready, after the example of his predeceſſors, to ſuffer whatever perſonal injury might befall him, and to go into exile wherever it might be thought proper to ſend him, rather than betray the intereſts of religion, and of the church. The holy ſee, he added, was not accuſtomed to revoke its judgments, which were never paſſed till after the moſt mature deliberation, and always with the aſſiſtance of the holy ghoſt. At length, loaded with years, with grief and infirmities, this arrogant and inflexible pontiff ſunk into his grave; and the famous Ganganelli, who aſſumed the name of Clement XIV. was after the conclave had ſat three months, elected, May 1769, to the vacant chair of St. Peter. The pontificate of Ganganelli was rendered for ever memorable by the abolition of the order of the Jeſuits, in virtue of a bull, iſſued A. D. 1773, charging them with having adopted opinions ſcandalous, contrary to good morals, and of dangerous import to the church and all chriſtian ſtates.

This pontiff died in the courſe of the next year (1774) univerſally beloved and regretted, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon, of which he is ſaid to have been himſelf previouſly apprehenſive; but of this no ſufficient evidence has been produced. He was ſucceeded by cardinal Braſchi, who took the appellation of Pius VI. Nearly at the ſame time died Charles Emanuel, king of Sardinia, after a reign of forty-three years. He ſucceeded to the throne on the reſignation of his father in 1730, and governed his dominions with great prudence and felicity. His ſon, Victor Amadeus, after the acquiſition of Corſica by France, perceiving the aſcendancy acquired by the houſe of Bourbon, entered into a ſtrict alliance with the court of Verſailles—the princeſs Clotilda, ſiſter to the king of France, marrying the prince of Piedmont; and the two princeſſes, daughters of his Sardinian majeſty, eſpouſing the counts de Provence and d'Artois, brothers of his moſt chriſtian majeſty.

In the north of Europe Ruſſia ſtill maintained her full aſcendancy, and the predominance which ſhe had acquired in the affairs of Poland was oppoſed not by the glorious ardor of civil liberty, but by a wretched and miſerable ſpirit of religious bigotry; and the majority of the diet, inſtigated by the BISHOPS, ſtill perſiſted in refuſing to the diſſidents, who were chiefly of the Greek church, that liberty of conſcience to which they were entitled, not merely by the rights of nature, but by the moſt expreſs and ſolemn conventions.

In the year 1563, a law worthy to be inſcribed in letters of gold on a table of adamant, was enacted at the diet of Wilna, under the ſanction of Sigiſmund Auguſtus, the greateſt of the Poliſh monarchs, declaring, "that all thoſe of the equeſtrian and noble orders, whether of Lithuanian, Poliſh, or Ruſſian extraction, in every part of his dominions, ſhall be eligible to all honors, dignities, and truſts, without diſtinction, or exception, according to his merit, provided he profeſs the chriſtian religion." This law, while it continued in force, was productive of the moſt ſalutary effects; but the crown of Poland too ſoon deſcending to weak and bigoted princes, the oppreſſions of the diſſidents recommenced in various forms. After many viciſſitudes of fortune, by the pacification of Oliva, A. D. 1660, their rights and privileges were at length completely reſtored, and guaranteed by England, Sweden, and the other high contracting parties to that famous treaty. Nevertheleſs, under the two laſt monarchs of the proteſtant houſe of Saxony, who, in the genuine ſpirit of apoſtacy, were eager to ſignalize their zeal for the faith they had ſo recently embraced, Perſecution, which had long mourned over her broken wheel, again reared her gorgon creſt; and notwithſtanding the wiſdom and moderation of the preſent ſovereign, and the powerful interceſſion of the courts of Berlin, London, and Peterſburg, the moſt ſevere and unjuſt edicts paſſed againſt them. Conceiving themſelves devoted to deſtruction, they at length flew to arms, and being ſupported by the power of Ruſſia, the whole kingdom, divided into oppoſite CONFEDERACIES, became for a ſucceſſion of years a ſcene of the moſt dreadful miſery and confuſion:—nor would the blind rage characteriſtic of civil and religious diſcord, permit the infatuated Poles to perceive that, by theſe ſenſeleſs and horrid contentions, they were exhauſting the vital ſtrength of their country, and offering themſelves up an eaſy prey to the rapacity of foreign invaders.

In an excellent memorial preſented by Mr. Wroughton, the Engliſh reſident at Warſaw, November 1776, the memorialiſt ſays, "Although the rights and privileges of the diſſidents are founded on a doctrine whoſe principles of charity and benevolence make it characteriſtic of chriſtianity, yet it is this religion of which the exerciſe is diſturbed, and of which the profeſſors are excluded from all honourable employ, and deprived of all means of ſerving their country; and the ambaſſador urges, in the name of the king his maſter, that with regard to their eccleſiaſtical and civil rights, the diſſidents may be re-eſtabliſhed on the ſacred foundations of the treaty of Oliva."—Happy would it have been had England herſelf adhered to that wiſe policy which ſhe ſo earneſtly recommended to Poland. But while ſhe was thus laudably ſolicitous to extend the ſhield of her protection to the Poliſh diſſidents, ſhe forgot that her own code of laws inflicted the moſt cruel and oppreſſive penalties upon the ſame claſs of citizens within her own dominion; and that the diſſidents of England alſo were the objects of a legal proſcription. That the ſame direful conſequences did not reſult from theſe laws, was to be imputed ſolely to that prevailing ſpirit of lenity, characteriſtic *till a recent period* of the temper of the times, which forbade or impeded their execution. If any certain concluſion can be deduced from reaſon, experience, and the uniform tenor of hiſtory, it is that toleration in its fulleſt extent is a principle in the higheſt degree ſalutary and beneficial; and that intolerance in any ſhape or mode never yet appeared without producing a correſpondent meaſure of animoſity, diſcord, and miſery*.

It is not to be imagined that Turkey, who regarded the growing greatneſs of Ruſſia with anxious and envious apprehenſion, could be ſatisfied to remain a mere ſpectator of the troubles in Poland. Repeated demands were made by the porte to the court of Peterſburg, to withdraw her armies from the territories of the republic, and to maintain that neutrality which the porte itſelf had religiouſly obſerved. Theſe remonſtrances were either wholly neglected, or produced only vague and evaſive declarations; and in the frequent conflicts which took place between the Ruſſian troops and the *catholic confederates* near the borders of the Turkiſh empire, the rights of ſovereignty were occaſionally violated, and many cauſes of complaint occurred. At length matters were brought to a criſis by the ſack of the town of Balta in Leſſer Tartary, to which a party of the confederates had fled for refuge, and which was immediately attacked and carried ſword in hand by the Ruſſians, who maſſacred great numbers of the inhabitants. On receiving intelligence of this event at Conſtantinople, M. Obreſcow, reſident of the court of St. Peterſburg, was at an extraordinary meeting of the divan required to ſign articles, importing ſatisfaction for the injuries ſuſtained, and the immediate withdrawing of the Ruſſian troops from Poland; and on his refuſal, the ambaſſador was committed (October 1768) priſoner to the caſtle of the Seven Towers.

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* On the theory and practice of government, unbiaſſed by views of perſonal aggrandizement, there can be no greater authority adduced than that of the king of Pruſſia. On the ſubject of toleration, he ſays, " De ſombres politiques vous diront, Tout le monde doit être de la même opinion, pour que rien ne diviſe les citoyens. Le théologien ajouta, Quiconque ne penſe pas comme moi eſt damne; il faut donc les détruire dans ce monde pour qu'ils proſpèrent d'autant mieux dans l'autre. Mais ſi l'on remonte à l'origine de la ſociété, il eſt tout-à-fait évident que le Souverain n'a aucun droit ſur la façon de penſer des citoyens Ne faudroit-il pas être en DEMENCE pour ſe figurer que des hommes ont dit à un homme leur ſemblable—Nous vous élevons au deſſus de nous parceque nous aimons l'eſclavage, & nous vous donnons la puiſſance de diriger nos penſées à votre volonté? Ils ont dit au contraire: Nous avons beſoin de vous pour maintenir les lois auxquelles nous voulons obéir, pour nous gouverner ſagement, pour nous défendre, Du reſte, nous exigeons de vous que vous reſpectiez notre liberté. Voilà la ſentence prononcée; ELLE eſt SANS APPEL; et même cette tolérance eſt ſi advantageuſe aux ſociétés où elle eſt établie qu'elle fait le bonheur de l'Etat. Dès que tout culte eſt libre tout le monde eſt tranquille: au lieu que la perſécution a donné lieu aux guerres civiles les plus ſanglantes, les plus longues, et les plus deſtructives."

OEUVRES de FREDERIC III. tome iv.

The war which enſued between the two empires exhibits an almoſt continued ſeries of triumphs on the part of the Ruſſians. After the reduction of the provinces north of the Danube, the Ruſſian commander marſhal Romanzoff paſſed that great river, and carried his victorious arms into the kingdom of Bulgaria, where the Turkiſh creſcent, elevated on the ruins of the chriſtian croſs, had reigned for centuries unmoleſted. By ſea the efforts of the court of St. Peterſburg were no leſs extraordinary. A fleet under count Orloff, with many able Engliſh officers on board, ſailing from the gulph of Finland in the ſummer of 1770, entered the Mediterranean, and totally defeated the Turkiſh fleet in the channel of Scio; the ſhattered remains of which retiring for ſafety to the harbor of Cheſme, on the coaſt of Natolia, were by means of fire-ſhips in the night after the battle entirely deſtroyed. The Turkiſh government was at the ſame time alarmed by a general revolt of the Greeks in the Morea; by a rebellion in Egypt, headed by the famous Ali Bey; by another in Syria, conducted by Cheik Daher; and a fourth in Georgia, under Prince Heraclius; ſo that the enormous fabric of that unwieldy and ill-compacted empire ſeemed to totter to its fall. Theſe various inſurrections were however finally ſuppreſſed, and a peace concluded with Ruſſia at Kainardgi, July 1774, on the humiliating terms of ceding to Ruſſia the whole country between the bog and the Nieper; of conſenting to the abſolute independency of the Crimea; and of allowing to the ſhipping of Ruſſia a free navigation in all the Turkiſh ſeas, including the paſſage through the Dardanelles. The Grand Seignor Muſtapha III. did not live to the concluſion of this diſaſtrous war. He aſcended the throne of the Ottomans, A. D. 1757, on the death of his uncle Oſman III. who had three years before ſucceeded his brother Mahomet V. The late Sultan Muſtapha, agreeably to the laws antiently eſtabliſhed in Turkey, was ſucceeded, after an eventful reign of ſixteen years, by his brother Abdul-Hamet, or Achmet IV.; Sultan Selim, eldeſt ſon of the late emperor, not having yet attained the age of majority.

During the continuance of this war, a grand project was formed by the courts of Vienna, Peterſburg, and Berlin, originally ſuggeſted by the inventive genius of the king of Pruſſia, for the partition of Poland. Different interviews had taken place between the king and the emperor at Neiſſe in Sileſia, Auguſt 1769, and at Neuſtadt in Moravia the following year, in which mutual proteſtations of regard and inviolable friendſhip were exchanged with the uſual ſincerity of princes. The judgment paſſed by the unerring penetration of the Pruſſian monarch reſpecting the emperor, was, "that with a diſpoſition to learn, he had not patience enough to be inſtructed." On the acceſſion of the empreſs of Ruſſia to this conſpiracy of ſovereigns, manifeſtoes were publiſhed A. D. 1772, by all theſe powers ſtating their claims and pretenſions to ſuch provinces as happened to be moſt commodious for their purpoſe, and lying contiguous to their own territories. To Ruſſia was allotted the whole country weſtward of the rivers Dwina and Nieper. The emperor ſeized upon a vaſt tract of land, extending from the frontiers of Moravia to the province of Volhynia, and ſituated in a direct courſe to the northward of Hungary and Tranſylvania, on which the pompous appellations were beſtowed of the kingdoms of Gallicia and Ludomiria. The whole of royal Pruſſia, with ſome adjoining diſtricts of Great Poland, fell to the ſhare of the king of Pruſſia, all which he claimed as his clear and indiſputable right; it being, as this monarch was pleaſed to affirm in his manifeſto, NOTORIOUS, "that the kings of Poland did many ages ago violently diſſeiſe the dukes of Pomerania, the dukes of Stettin, and the dukes of Dantzick, his majeſty's anceſtors, of thoſe dominions, which his majeſty, as ſole heir and univerſal ſucceſſor of all theſe dukes, now ſo juſtly and equitably reclaimed." In vain did they king and diet of Poland proteſt againſt theſe unheard-of claims, and extravagant pretenſions. In vain did they appeal to all Europe, that the dominions of the republic were not only ſecured to them by the preſcription of centuries, but were guaranteed by the moſt ſolemn treaties; and that ſhould an act of ſuch enormous perfidy and injuſtice be permitted or connived at, every principle of public faith would be ſubverted, and nations muſt herafter acknowledge no other law than that of force. The diet was in the end compelled to ratify theſe claims: and at the ſame time important alterations were made in the conſtitution of the republic, by which the power of the crown was ſtill farther reduced, particularly in the eſtabliſhment of a permanent executive council, in which the monarch preſided with only a ſingle voice. All theſe atrocious proceedings, ſo nearly and deeply affecting the balance of power on the continent, were viewed with apparent indifference by the great potentates of Europe; partciularly by England, then intent on her deſperate projects of American ſubjugation; although in latter times the poſſeſſion of a ſingle town* has been thought ſo materially to affect that balance, as to juſtify a war for the ſole purpoſe of effecting its reſtoration. A grand alliance, projected by the cabinet of Verſailles, between the courts of Verſailles, London, Madrid, and Turin, in order to counterbalance that ſubſiſting between the courts of Peterſburg, Vienna, and Berlin, not meeting with encouragement from England, periſhed in embryo.

The ſituation of the Scandinavian courts yet remains to be deſcribed. Frederic V. king of Denmark, had departed this life January 1776. He was a juſt, wiſe, and beneficent prince; the friend and father of his ſubjects, by whom he was beloved with unfeigned ardor, and who bedewed his monument with the tears of gratitude and affection. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Chriſtian VII. who in a few months after his acceſſion eſpouſed the princeſs Carolina Matilda, youngeſt ſiſter of the king of England. Soon after this marriage the young monarch left his kingdom, actuated by a reſtleſs and roving deſire of viſiting foreign countries. In the year 1768 he arrived in England, where he was entertained with great magnificence; whence he paſſed into France and Germany, and did not return to his dominions till the following year. The apparent weakneſs and incapacity of the king, on his aſſuming the reins of government, ſufficiently demonſtrated that he had gained no valuable acceſſion of knowledge by his late travels. A certain German phyſician, of the name of Struenſee, who had attended the king abroad, had acquired the entire aſcendancy over him, and being created a count was placed at the head of affairs; the miniſters of the late king, counts Bernſtorf, Holke, &c. being previouſly diſgraced. With the raſh preſumption incident to ſudden and unmerited proſperity, this man attempted to introduce many innovations into the government and police of the kingdom, by which he made himſelf univerſally odious. The very high favor in which he evidently ſtood with the queen, alſo gave riſe to imputations little to the advantage of her majeſty's character. At length, by an unexpected and extraordinary court-revolution, conducted by the queen dowager and her ſon prince Frederic, Struenſee and his principal partiſans were arreſted under the ſanction of a warrant compulſorily ſigned by the king. The queen herſelf was committed cloſe priſoner to the caſtle of Cronenburg, January 1772. In the ſequel, Struenſee ſuffered on a public ſcaffold; and the queen, againſt whom it was for ſome time a ſubject of doubt whether a capital proceſs ſhould not be inſtituted, was allowed, through the powerful interpoſition of England, to retire from the Daniſh dominions, and found an aſylum in the city of Zell, where after reſiding ſome years, ſhe died in neglect and obſcurity.

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* Oczakow.

The events which paſſed nearly at the ſame time in Sweden, were of a nature in a political view far more important and intereſting. High diſputes had for many years ſubſiſted between the king and the ſenate. At length, in conſequence of a refuſal of the ſenate to convoke an extraordinary diet, which the king declared to be abſolutely neceſſary to remedy the evils which diſtracted the ſtate, an inſtrument was ſigned by the king, and delivered by the prince royal to the different *colleges* of juſtice, of finance, and of war, by which the king notified to them in form, that until the ſtates were convoked he found himſelf under the neceſſity of abdicating the goveenment. This was a meaſure of deep policy, and at the ſame time of great popularity, the ſenate having rendered themſelves univerſally odious by the abuſe of the powers entruſted to them by the conſtitution. The different executive departments of the ſtate refuſing to act after this notification, the ſenate moſt reluctantly convened the diet, which met at Norkioping in the month of April 1769. The ſecret committee in a ſhort time brought twenty-four articles of accuſation againſt the ſenators, and allowed them forty-eight hours only to prepare for their defence; and they were in the reſult degraded from their offices. The court nevertheleſs failed in the grand point of effecting an extenſion of its powers. On the queſtion being put, "Whether it be proper to make any innovations in the fundamental conſtitution of the kingdom," it was carried in the negative, in the order of nobles, by 457 to 431 voices. The orders of burghers and peaſants alſo ſeverally decided againſt any alterations of the exiſting political ſyſtem. Things continued therefore nearly in the ſame ſtate till the death of the king, which took place early in the year 1771. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Guſtavus the third, who was at that period abſent at the court of Verſailles. On his return to Sweden, he paſſed ſome days at Berlin; and at theſe two courts the project of a revolution in the government of Sweden was undoubtedly concerted, although the king, in his letter to the ſtates, gave them the moſt ſolemn aſſurances, that he would inviolably adhere to the conſtitution or *formula* of government ſettled in the year 1720. In his ſpeech at the opening of the diet in June, he declared, that he conſidered it as his greateſt glory to be the firſt citizen of a free country; and at his coronation, which took place in the month of February 1772, he not only took the cuſtomary oath, but by a voluntary declaration, he formally abſolved the ſtates from their allegiance, ſhould he ever attempt any infringement of the *capitulations* to which he had then ſworn. All this however was the reſult of a ſtudied and conſummate hypocriſy.

ſy. After a long train of the moſt artful preparations, he at length determined, on the morning of the 19th of Auguſt 1772, to throw off the maſk. Summoning the officers of the royal guard, he inſinuated to them that his life was in danger from the machinations of the ſenators—painted in ſtrong colors the wretched ſtate of the kingdom, and declared that his only deſign was to baniſh corruption, eſtabliſh true liberty, and revive the antient luſtre of the Swediſh name. "Will you," ſaid he, "be faithful to me, as your forefathers were to Guſtavus Vaſa and Guſtavus Adolphus? I will then riſk my life for your welfare and that of my country." The officers expreſſing in warm terms their attachment to the king, and their readineſs to concur in his deſigns, a detachment of grenadiers was poſted with bayonets fixed at the door of the council chamber, where the ſenators were actually engaged in deliberation, to prevent all ingreſs or egreſs. Other principal leaders of the ariſtocratic party were alſo at the ſame time put under an arreſt; and the king, mounting his horſe, followed by his officers and ſoldiers, rode through the ſtreets of Stockholm, addreſſing himſelf to the innumerable crowds which were gathered together, and proteſting "that he only meant to defend them, and ſave the country from ruin, and that if they could not confide in him, he would reſign his ſceptre and kingdom." The deluded people, with loud acclamations, applauded his patriotiſm, and entreated him not to abandon them. No ſymptom of reſiſtance any where appeared; and the diet being in a few days convened, the king addreſſed the ſtates in a long harangue, in which, after deſcribing in forcible language the diſorders and misfortunes in which party diviſions had plunged the nation, he ordered the new *formula of government* to be read, which he now *propoſed* for their acceptance. By one article of the conſtitution, the king was veſted with the power of aſſembling and diſſolving the ſtates at pleaſure. By another, he was to have the ſole diſpoſal of the army, the navy, the finances, and all employments civil and military. By a third, all exiſting taxes were made perpetual; and the king, in caſe of *preſſing neceſſity*, might impoſe new taxes till the ſtates ſhould be aſſembled. And by a fourth, the ſtates, when aſſembled, were to deliberate only on thoſe queſtions which the king thought proper to refer to them. The inſtrument of government being read, the king demanded whether they approved of it? Cannon being planted in the court facing the hall where the ſtates were aſſembled, and matroſſes ſtanding over them with lighted matches, the aſſembly declared with one voice their entire aſſent to theſe articles; and the oath of fidelity was immediately adminiſtered to them. After which *te Deum* was ſung by his majeſty and the aſſembly, in devout commemoration of this happy event. And thus was a revolution accompliſhed, which converted one of the moſt limited monarchies in Europe into one of the moſt abſolute, without ſhedding a ſingle drop of blood; and the nation at large, which had been grievouſly oppreſſed under the former ariſtocratic conſtitution, and which had never attained to true and rational ideas of liberty, were delighted with the preſent change of government, from which they hoped to enjoy tranquillity and ſecurity at leaſt, if not the felicity and advantages of political freedom.

It is now high time to revert to the more proper ſubject of the preſent hiſtory, and to reſume the narration of military operations in America. It has been before remarked, that the ſiege or blockade of Quebec, notwithſtanding the diſaſtrous iſſue of general Montgomery's attempt, was continued through the winter with aſtoniſhing reſolution by colonel Arnold, who was afterwards ſuperſeded by general Sullivan. Early in the ſpring, before the Americans could be joined by their expected reinforcements, a naval armament of Great Britain, conſiſting of the Iſis of 54 guns, accompanied by the Surpriſe frigate and the Martin ſloop, forced their paſſage through the ice before the navigation of the St. Lawrence was deemed practicable. General Carleton, animated no leſs than ſtrengthened by the welcome and ſeaſonable ſuccors they brought, immediately marched out in force, in order to attack the American camp; but the beſiegers, weakened by hardſhip and diſeaſe, and now altogether deſpairing of ſucceſs, had already begun their retreat, abandoning their baggage, artillery and ſtores, and directing their march towards Sorel, which they reached in a few days in a very ill condition. Towards the end of May, all the reinforcements being now arrived from England, a very great force was collected in Canada; the general rendezvous of which was appointed at Trois Rivieres, half way between Montreal and Quebec, about ninety miles from each. General Burgoyne, who was ſecond in command, had orders to purſue the continental army up the Sorel to St. John's. This poſt was now abandoned by the Americans, who retreated in confuſion to Iſle aux Noix, and from thence to Crown Point. Montreal and Chamblée had been alſo previouſly evacuated, and the garriſons with difficulty avoided being entirely cut off. Still the Americans were maſters of Lake Champlain, and the greateſt exertions were made by the generals Carleton and Burgoyne, to conſtruct a number of veſſels of ſufficient force to give them that ſuperiority which was eſſential to the ſucceſs of the expedition now meditated to the ſouthward; and, till this purpoſe was effected, military operations were entirely ſuſpended in the province of Canada.

A ſtrong ſquadron, commanded by Sir Peter Parker, with about 3000 land forces on board, ſailed from Cork in the month of February, on an expedition to the middle or ſouthern colonies. The departure of this fleet was delayed by a ſingular circumſtance. The lord lieutenant of Ireland, lord Harcourt, doubting his power to permit the troops to leave the kingdom, a clauſe expreſsly authoriſing him ſo to do was inſerted in a bill then pending in the parliament of Ireland. When the bill came to England, the clauſe was ſtruck out with indignation, as implying an undue limitation of the prerogative. But the lord lieutenant, conceiving himſelf pledged by the king's word ſolemnly given to the Iriſh parliament, refuſed to permit the troops to embark without leave of the legiſlature; and a new clauſe was haſtily inſerted in another bill, which was tranſmitted and paſſed, though not without great reſentment againſt the lord lieutenant, who on his arrival in England, ſome time afterwards, met at court with a very indifferent reception.

On the 3d of May 1776, admiral Sir Peter Parker anchored off Cape Fear, where he was joined by general Clinton; and finding that nothing could be attempted with probability of ſucceſs in Virginia, it was determined to try the event of an attack on the city of Charleſtown, the capital of South Carolina; and in the beginning of June the whole fleet anchored off Charleſtown bar. Prior to their arrival the city had been put into a proper poſture of defence; and works were erected on Sullivan's Iſland, mounted with thirty pieces of cannon, in a very advantageous ſituation for annoying ſhips in their approach to the town. The militia of the province were now collected in great numbers for the defence of the metropolis, aided by ſeveral continental regiments, and the whole were commanded by general Lee, who had traverſed the whole extent of the continent with wonderful expedition, in order to put himſelf at their head.

On the 28th of June, the Briſtol and Experiment, each of 50 guns, ſupported by ſeveral ſmaller ſhips, had with ſome difficulty croſſed the bar, and advanced to the attack of the fort on Sullivan's Iſland, conſtructed entirely of the palmetto, a ſoft and ſpungy wood, in which a ball entering is buried, and makes no extended fracture. A moſt furious cannonade now began from the ſhipping, which was returned with equal fury and much more effect from the fort. The ſhips were almoſt torn to pieces, and the ſlaughter was dreadful. During the conflict, the ſeamen looked frequently and impatiently to ſee the land forces advance from Long Iſland, where they had ſome time before effected a landing, to Sullivan's Iſland, from which it is ſeparated by a creek, in general fordable, but at this time, through a long continuance of eaſterly winds, deep and dangerous to attempt. The firing did not ceaſe till evening when the ſhips ſlipped their cables and withdrew from the ſcene of action, after an engagement ſupported on both ſides with uncommon ſpirit and vigor. The Actæon, of 28 guns, having run aground, was abandoned and ſet on fire. Captain Morris, of the Briſtol, after diſplaying heroic valor, received a wound which proved mortal. Captain Scott, of the Experiment, and lord William Campbell, late governor of the colony, who now with great gallantry ſerved as a volunteer on board the fleet, were alſo dangerouſly wounded, with more than 200 men of the crews of theſe two ſhips only. Colonel Moultrie, the commandant of the fort, merits diſtinguiſhed mention, for the ſkill and cool determined valor with which he conducted his defence. The deſign on Charleſtown was, after this diſaſter, abandoned; and Sir Peter Parker immediately ſet ſail for New York.

It being now thoroughly aſcertained, that the utmoſt lenity which America had to expect from Britain was pardon upon unconditional ſubmiſſion, the minds of the generality of men throughout the continent were by this time fully prepared for a formal declaration of Independency. North Carolina and Pennſylvania, which had long oppoſed this meaſure, now ſignified their concurrence. Maryland alone ſtill diſcovered ſymptoms of reluctance. General Lee, in a letter written at this time to a perſon of diſtinction in that colony, in terms very characteriſtic of his ardent and fiery diſpoſition, ſays, "I know not whether, in the whole courſe of my life, I ever read any thing which ſo much moved my pity and indignation as the late declaration of the convention of Maryland. They declare, they ſhall eſteem ſeparation from Great Britain as the laſt of misfortunes. What! when an attempt has been made to rob you and your poſterity of your birthrights—when your fields have been laid waſte, your towns have been burnt, and your citizens butchered; when your property is ſeized and confiſcated in all parts of the world; when an inexorable tyrant, an abandoned parliament, and a corrupt puſillanimous people have formed an helliſh league to rob you of every thing men hold moſt dear; is it poſſible there ſhould be creatures, who march on two legs, and call themſelves human, who can be ſo deſtitute of ſentiment, courage, and feeling, as ſobbingly to proteſt, they ſhall conſider ſeparation from theſe butchers and robbers as the laſt of miſfortunes?

"Oh, I could brain you with your ladies' fans."

In purſuance, however, at length of inſtructions tranſmitted from all parts of the province, the Maryland convention paſſed a vote in favor of independence; and the delegates of all the thirteen colonies aſſembled in general congreſs being now unanimous, the DECLARATION of INDEPENDENCE was ſolemnly promulgated on the 4th of July 1776. This famous declaration commences with the acknowledgment, "that reſpect to the opinions of mankind requires, that, when in the courſe of human events it becomes neceſſary for one people to diſſolve the political bands which have connected them with another, they ſhould declare the cauſes which impel them to the ſeparation; and they aſſert the unalterable right of the people, whenever government becomes deſtructive of thoſe ends for which it is inſtituted, to form a new government on principles moſt likely to effect their ſafety and happineſs.

Prudence indeed will dictate, that governments long eſtabliſhed ſhould not be changed for light and tranſient cauſes; and all experience hath ſhewn that mankind are more diſpoſed to ſuffer while evils are ſufferable, than to right themſelves by aboliſhing the forms to which they have been accuſtomed. But when a long train of abuſes and uſurpations, purſuing invariably the ſame object, evinces a deſign to reduce them under abſolute deſpotiſm, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off ſuch government, and provide new guards for their future ſecurity. Such has been the patient ſufference of theſe colonies, and ſuch is now the neceſſity which conſtrains them to alter their former ſyſtem of government. The hiſtory of the preſent king of Great Britain is a hiſtory of repeated injuries and uſurpations; all having in direct object the eſtabliſhment of an abſolute tyranny over theſe ſtates." In proof of this aſſertion, they then proceed to enumerate the particulars of his conduct in relation to America, and the oppreſſive and tyrannic acts of his reign. In concluſion they ſay, "In every ſtage of theſe oppreſſions we have petitioned for redreſs in the moſt humble terms; our repeated petitions have been anſwered only by repeated injuries. A prince, whoſe character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people. WE therefore, the repreſentatives of AMERICA in general congreſs aſſembled, appealing to the ſupreme judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of theſe colonies, ſolemnly publiſh and declare, that theſe united colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, and that they are abſolved from all allegiance to the Britiſh crown; and that all political connection between them and the ſtates of Great Britain is and ought to be totally diſſolved: and in ſupport of this declaration, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our ſacred honor."

This DECLARATION was received in every part of the continent with the loudeſt acclamations of applauſe. Amongſt the moſt enraptured in this glorious moment of enthuſiaſm, was the heroic and romantic Lee, who, at this period, writing to Patrick Henry, eſq. governor of Virginia, thus exultingly expreſſes himſelf: "The reveries which I conſidered as mere golden caſtles built in the air, at length bid fair for being realized. We ſhall now moſt probably ſee a mighty empire eſtabliſhed of freemen, whoſe honor, property, and military glories are not to be at the diſpoſal of a ſceptred tyrant, nor their conſciences to be fettered by a proud domineering hierarchy. Every faculty of the ſoul will now be put in motion; every ſpark of ability which every individual poſſeſſes will now be brought forth, and form the common aggregate for the advantage and honor of the community."

By advice of the new American miniſter, lord George Germaine, the chief command of the vaſt naval and military force now collected for the ſubjugation of America was entruſted to the HOWES, brothers of the gallant nobleman who ſo gloriouſly fell in the defence of the colonies in the former war at Ticonderoga. "AMERICA," ſaid the congreſs, in one of their public declarations, "is amazed to find the name of HOWE in the catalogue of her enemies—ſhe loved his brother." It argued, however, very ſhallow policy to make this nomination under the idea that the ſound of a once popular name would cauſe America to waver for a moment in her determination, or in the ſlighteſt degree remit her preparations of reſiſtance; though it might indeed be reaſonably queſtioned, whether men ſuppoſed not unfavorably inclined to America, would be likely to make exertions equally vigorous and ardent with others not inferior in talents, who entertained no ſuch predilection. Lord Howe, who was anxious to obtain an enlargement of his powers as commiſſioner, in order to effect his favorite purpoſe of pacification, did not leave England till May, and he then directed his courſe for Halifax, where he arrived in June; but found by a letter left for him, that his brother, the general, was already departed for New York; to which place he inſtantly proceeded without coming to an anchor, and reached Staten Iſland, the head-quarters of the general, on the 12th of July. Here, to his inexpreſſible chagrin, he was informed of the publication of the declaration of independency. His lordſhip, however, reſolved to make an effort, ſuch as yet remained, for effecting an accommodation, though ſo limited were his powers, that it was in fact of very immaterial conſequence whether his arrival preceded or ſucceeded the declaration. On his arrival off the coaſt, his lordſhip had ſent aſhore by a flag to Amboy a circular letter addreſſed to the governors of the different colonies, acquainting them with his appointment as commiſſioner, in conjunction with the general, together with a declaration to the inhabitants. Copies of theſe papers were ſent by general Waſhington to the congreſs, who immediately reſolved, " that they be publiſhed in the ſeveral Gazettes, in order that the good people of the united ſtates might be apprized of what nature are the commiſſions, and what the terms with the expectation of which the inſidious court of Great Britain has endeavored to amuſe and diſarm them." Some days after this, adjutant-general Paterſon was deputed by general Howe with a meſſage to general Waſhington, ſtating, that the commiſſioners were inveſted with great powers, that they would derive the greateſt pleaſure from effecting an accommodation, and wiſhed this viſit to be conſidered as the firſt advance towards that deſirable object. General Waſhington replied, " that, by what had tranſpired, their powers extended merely to the granting of pardons; that thoſe who had been guilty of no fault, wanted no pardon; and that they were only defending what they deemed their indiſputable rights." Both ſides now prepared ſeriouſly for action;

and the general, being joined by the far greater part of his expected reinforcements, found himſelf at the head of 30,000 veteran troops, ſupported by a formidable fleet, compoſing together a far ſuperior force to any that had ever before been ſeen, in the New World employed in the ſame ſervice.

On the 22d of Auguſt 1776, the whole army being re-embarked, was ſafely landed, under protection of the ſhipping, on the ſouth-weſtern extremity of Long Iſland, an extenſive and fertile tract; on the oppoſite ſide of which, in view of the iſland and city of New York, lay encamped, near the village of Brooklyn, a large body of Americans commanded by general Sullivan. His lines extended on the left to the eaſt river, which ſeparated him from New York; he was defended by a marſh and an inlet of the ſea called Gowan's Cove on the right; and to the rear of the encampment was an open bay, bounded by a ſmall iſland, known by the name of Governor's Iſland. Between the armies was a range of hills covered with wood, interſecting the country from eaſt to weſt: through theſe hills are three paſſes, one to the weſtward called the Narrows; a ſecond, on the road denominated the Flat-buſh road; and the third bending to the eaſt, called the Bedford road. Beſides theſe three is a road leading round the eaſtern extremity of the hills to a plantation called Jamaica. On each of theſe roads or paſſes the American general had placed a ſtrong guard of 800 men. General Howe, having formed his plan, ſtationed general Grant at the head of the left wing, in a poſition to guard the coaſt, and, if practicable, to force a paſſage through the Narrows. General De Heiſter, with the Heſſians, was ordered to take poſt at the central paſs of Flat-buſh.

About nine in the evening of the 26th, the main army, under the command of general Clinton and the lords Percy and Cornwallis, marched to the right, in order to gain the eaſtern or Jamaica paſs, which, through the unaccountable negligence or cowardice of the officer appointed to defend it, they accompliſhed without delay or difficulty. The way being thus open, the whole army deſcended by the town of Bedford into the level country which lay between them and the American lines. This action began early on the morning of the 27th, by a warm cannonade on the right of the American lines from the generals de Heiſter and Grant; the ſhips of war in the mean time attacking a battery at Red Hook, in the rear of the American encampment, in order to call off their attention from the left and centre where the real danger lay. The Americans having taken a ſtation ſome miles diſtant in front of their camp, in order to oppoſe the advance of de Heiſter and Grant, were ſuddenly attacked by general Clinton in the rear, and immediately thrown into the utmoſt confuſion; and, in the effort to retreat back to the lines of Brooklyn, great numbers were killed and taken priſoners; amongſt the latter was general Sullivan, and ten other field officers, and many were drowned or ſuffocated in attempting to paſs the marſh. Upon the whole, a ſignal victory was obtained with inconſiderable loſs; and ſuch was the ardor of the Britiſh troops, that ſcarcely could they be reſtrained by the too great caution of their commander from ſtorming the American lines, which would have been in all probability quickly forced, in the conſternation occaſioned by the loſs of the battle. On the next day the Britiſh troops broke ground in form, at 600 yards diſtance from the neareſt redoubt, and the ſhips in the bay waited only a fair wind to enter the eaſt river, which would effectually cut off all communication between the iſland and the continent. In this ſituation no hope remained but in a retreat, which was on the ſucceeding night effected, under cover of a thick fog, with extraordinary ſilence, order, and ſecrecy; general Waſhington himſelf croſſing over in perſon, and taking the conduct of the whole. On the clearing up of the fog, the laſt boats of the Americans were ſeen paſſing the river, but out of reach of the Engliſh batteries, and general Howe, whoſe hopes had been raiſed to the higheſt pitch, now found no other advantage reſulting from his victory than the inglorious acquiſition of the deſerted works of Brooklyn. Almoſt immediately after this tranſaction, general Sullivan was ſent upon parole, with a verbal meſſage from lord Howe to the congreſs, importing, that although he could not at preſent treat with them in a legal character, yet he was deſirous of conferring with ſome of the members of that aſſembly in their individual capacity; informing them, " that he, with the general, was inveſted with full powers to compromiſe the diſpute between Great Britain and America, on terms advantageous to both; the obtaining of which had detained him near two months; and prevented his arrival before the declaration of independency had taken place. If, upon the conference, any probable ground of accommodation appeared, his lordſhip added, that the authority of congreſs muſt of courſe be ſubſequently acknowledged, in order to render the compact complete." The CONGRESS replied with republican dignity, rather raiſing than lowering their tone in conſequence of the late defeat, that " being the repreſentatives of the free and independent STATES of AMERICA, they could not with propriety ſend any of their members to confer with his lordſhip in their private characters; but that, ever deſirous of eſtabliſhing peace on reaſonable terms, they would ſend a committee of their body, to know whether he had any authority to treat with perſons authorized by congreſs, and what that authority is." The committee appointed for this purpoſe, Dr. Franklin, Mr. John Adams, and Mr. Rutledge, according met lord Howe upon Staten Iſland September, 14, where they were entertained by his lordſhip with great politeneſs; but in the report of this conference, they ſay, " that his lordſhip's commiſſion appeared to them to ontain no other authority of importance than was comprized in the act of parliament; for, as to the power of enquiring into the ſtate of America, and tranſmitting the reſult of ſuch enquiry to England, they apprehend any expectation from the effect of ſuch a power would have been too precarious for America to have relied upon, had ſhe continued in her ſtate of dependence." Thus all hope of ſucceſs in conſequence of negotiation vaniſhed, much to the ſatisfaction of the friends of American independence, who dreaded leſt the powers veſted in the commiſſioners ſhould have proved ſo extenſive as to create a ſerious difference of opinion as to the propriety of treating; but this the abounding pride and deficient wiſdom of the Engliſh court moſt effectually prevented. No ſuſpenſion of arms having taken place, ſeveral ſhips of war were previous to the conference ſent up the eaſt and north rivers, which lave the coaſts of the long and narrow peninſula at the extremity of which the city of New York is ſituated. The army of general Waſhington being ſtationed, part in the environs of the city, and part at Kingſbridge, on the iſthmus which connects the peninſula with the continent, apprehenſions were entertained that the Engliſh general, by landing his forces in the centre, would cut off the communication between them; on which a reſolution was taken immediately to evacuate the city; and on the actual landing of the Britiſh forces, the Americans retreated with precipitation and ſome loſs to Kingſbridge, where they had erected ſtrong works. The greater part of the army were now re-embarked, and again landed near Weſt Cheſter, with a view to gain the rear of general Waſhington's encampment, and to encloſe him in his faſtneſſes on all ſides. The American commander, alarmed by the remonſtrances of general Lee, who had recently joined him, perceiving the neceſſity of making a grand movement, in order to counteract this project; and immediately decamping with his whole army, took a new and ſtrong poſition at White Plains, the deep river Brunx covering his front, and the north river flowing at ſome diſtance in the rear.

On the 28th of October, the royal army advanced in two columns within cannot-ſhot of the American lines; and a part of the left wing, croſſing the river, attacked an advanced poſt of the American encampment, commanded by general Macdougal, who was compelled to retreat with loſs to the main army: the right and centre, fortunately for the Americans, did not quit the ground on which they had at firſt formed. The next day, general Howe, obſerving the American lines much ſtrengthened by additional works, reſolved to defer the attack till the arrival of the troops which had been left on York Iſland; who joining him at the expected time, new diſpoſitions were made for attacking the American lines on the laſt day of October, but inceſſant rains prevented the execution of his plan: and in the night of the 1ſt of November, general Waſhington drew off his troops, and took another and ſtill ſtronger poſition, amidſt the woods and high lands bordering on the North Caſtle diſtrict. General Howe, perceiving that the nature of the country would not admit of forcing the American commander to an engagement, made a ſudden movement towards Kingſbridge, and unexpectedly inveſted Fort Waſhington, a ſtrong poſt, which the Americans, contrary to the earneſt advice of general Lee, occupied on the north river, oppoſite to which was Fort Lee on the Jerſey ſide. The commander of the fortreſs refuſing to ſurrender to the ſummons of general Howe, it was by an immediate and vigorous aſſault carried ſword in hand, and more than 2000 men made priſoners of war. On this acquiſition, lord Cornwallis was detached with a ſtrong body of forces to form the inveſtment of Fort Lee, but found it already abandoned by the garriſon, who retired with ſuch precipitation as to leave behind them their artillery, proviſions, and ſtores. General Waſhington, who had paſſed the north river with a view to the protection of the province of Jerſey, now found himſelf compelled to retreat with a very diminiſhed force to Newark,

ark, whence he fell back on the approach of lord Cornwallis to Brunſwick, leaving Newark the very morning that his lordſhip entered it. As the van of lord Cornwallis's army advanced to Brunſwick, by a forced march, December 1, general Waſhington retreated to Prince-town, having firſt broken down the bridge erected there over the Rariton. As the orders of his lordſhip were poſitive not to advance beyond Brunſwick, he here ſent diſpatches to the commander in chief, expreſſing ſanguine hopes, that by a continued purſuit he could entirely diſperſe the army under general Waſhington, and ſeize his heavy baggage and artillery before he could paſs the Delawar. But general Howe would not revoke his order, ſaying only that he would join his lordſhip immediately: but this junction did not take place till after an important interval of ſeveral days; and the Americans were once more ſaved by the cold and dilatory policy of the Engliſh general.

On the 7th, lord Cornwallis advanced to Prince-town, which the Americans had ſcarcely quitted; and the van of his lordſhip's army reached at midnight, December 8, the banks of the Delawar, juſt as the rear-guard of the Americans gained the oppoſite ſhore. Here a ceſſation of the purſuit became indiſpenſable, as no boats could be procured for tranſporting the troops over that great river. During this memorable retreat, general Lee, at the head of a conſiderable body of troops, had followed the track of lord Cornwallis, but at too great a diſtance to be of any ſervice to the commander in chief. It ſeemed as if his proud and envious mind, which could brook no ſuperiority, would have been gratified by the total defeat and ruin of general Waſhington, to whom he would, in all probability, have ſucceeded as generaliſſimo of the forces of America. But it was otherwiſe decreed, and an unlooked-for and unſpeakable mortification and diſgrace awaited him. While he lay careleſsly and without a guard at a place called Baſking-ridge, intelligence of his ſituation was communicated to colonel Harcourt, who inſtantly formed a plan for capturing this able officer, ſtyled by the Britiſh army, "the American Palladium." With ſuch addreſs and activity was this project carried into execution, that the general was ſeized by a party of light horſe, conducted by the colonel in the night of the 13th of December 1776, and carried ſafely off to the Britiſh camp, though ſeveral guarded poſts and armed patroles lay in their way. This capture cauſed great exultation, and the priſoner was confined in the cloſeſt manner. An offer being made by the congreſs to exchange ſix field officers for the general, it was anſwered, that general Lee, being a deſerter from his majeſty's ſervice, did not come under the denomination of a priſoner of war, nor was he entitled to the benefits of the cartel; and the menace of retaliation alone prevented their proceeding to the laſt extremity againſt him. During the royal ſucceſſes in the Jerſeys, general Clinton, with two brigades of Britiſh and two of Heſſian troops, with a ſquadron of men of war, was detached to the attack of Rhode Iſland—which being in no condition of defence, was abandoned to them without reſiſtance. It was taken poſſeſſion of by general Clinton on the very day that general Waſhington croſſed the Delawar.

The affairs of America were now in the opinion of many verging to a criſis; for, though it might reaſonably be expected that the firſt operations of ſo great a force as that now employed by Great Britain would be ſucceſsful in a certain degree, it could ſcarcely be imagined that ſuch a ſeries of diſaſters could happen in ſo ſhort a time. But the event of the campaign, though now in appearance brought very nearly to a termination, ſhewed in a ſtriking manner the caprice of fortune, and the folly of thoſe who in a hazardous and dangerous war rely on a conſtant and uninterrupted tide of ſucceſs. When general Waſhington retreated acroſs the Delawar, he trembled for the fate of America; and talked of retiring for ſafety with the remains of his army to the receſſes of the Alleghany mountains, expecting to have been immediately followed by the Britiſh forces. For, though the boats were by a timely precaution removed to the Pennſylvanian ſhore, the neighbourhood ſupplied ample materials, which art and induſtry might ſoon have conſtructed into rafts and flotillas ſufficient for the tranſportation of the troops. But it was remarked by men of diſcernment, that nothing of the vaſt or deciſive appeared in the plans of the Engliſh general, and the troops now in the full career of ſucceſs were ordered into winter cantonments, forming an extenſive chain from Brunſwick to the Delawar, and down the banks of that river for many miles, ſo as to compoſe a front at the end of the line looking over to Pennſylvania. General Waſhington having perfect information of this diſpoſition exclaimed in the ſpirit of a vigilant and ſagacious commander, "Now is the time to clip the wings of the enemy while they are ſo ſpread."

Very early in the morning of the 26th December (1776), a day purpoſely ſelected on the ſuppoſition that the preceding feſtivity might favor the project of ſurprize, general Waſhington croſſed the Delawar, not without extreme difficulty from the quantity of ice in the river, nine miles above Trenton, and immediately began his march in the midſt of a ſtorm of ſnow and hail at the head of his troops, which exceeded not three thouſand in number, and reached Trenton by day-break. Here about one thouſand ſix hundred men were ſtationed, chiefly Heſſians, under the command of colonel Rahl, who, being unſuſpicious of danger, were thrown into confuſion at the firſt attack. Colonel Rahl himſelf being mortally wounded, the diſorder increaſed, and, abandoning their artillery, they attempted to make their retreat to Prince-town, but finding this impracticable, and being now overpowered, and nearly ſurrounded, the three regiments of Rahl, Loſſberg, and Knyphauſen, laid down their arms, and ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war; the remainder of the troops eſcaping with difficulty by way of Bordentown. In the evening general Waſhington repaſſed the Delawar, carrying with him the priſoners, their artillery, and colors, and entered the city of Philadelphia in triumph. The charm was now diſſolved; and it being found by experience that the Europeans were not invincible, great numbers of the Americans, who had deſerted their colors, again repaired to the ſtandard of their commander, who ſoon found himſelf at the head of a conſiderable army, in a condition once more to croſs the Delawar; and lord Cornwallis, who was actually at New York in his way to England, found himſelf under a neceſſity of returning to the defence of the Jerſeys.

The Engliſh general, approaching the American army ſtrongly poſted near the town of Trenton, made immediate diſpoſitions for an attack; but in the dead of night (January 2, 1777,) general Waſhington ſilently withdrew his troops, leaving fires burning in the camp, and the uſual patroles, in order to deceive the enemy; and by a circuitous march arrived by ſun-riſe at Prince-town. Here the fourth brigade of Britiſh troops, conſiſting of the ſeventeenth, fortieth, and fifty-fifth, regiments, were poſted under the command of colonel Mawhood, who had juſt begun his march in order to join lord Cornwallis, when he fell in with the van-guard of the American army. Though engaged with a far ſuperior force, the colonel, at the head of his own corps, with extraordinary gallantry fought his way through the thickeſt ranks of the enemy—the other regiments making ſeparate retreats by different roads: they ſuffered however very ſeverely in this unequal conflict, and were in a great meaſure diſabled for future ſervice. General Waſhington diſtinguiſhed himſelf on this occaſion by ſignal exertions of perſonal valor. On this diſaſter, lord Cornwallis, finding himſelf out-manœuvred by his antagoniſt, abandoned his camp at Trenton, and retired with precipitation to Brunſwick. The licentious ravages of the ſoldiery, particularly of the German mercenaries, during the time they were in poſſeſſion of the Jerſeys, had excited the utmoſt reſentment and deteſtation of the inhabitants; and the fortune of war now ſeeming to turn againſt them, the whole country roſe in arms: the militia collected in large bodies, and the Britiſh troops were every where attacked with ſucceſs—at Woodbridge, at Elizabeth-town, at Newark; and the royal troops retained only the two poſt of Brunſwick and Amboy, both holding an open communication with New York by ſea.—In the detail of military operations, the civil tranſactions which took place during the campaign muſt not be ſuffered to eſcape our attention.

On the 19th September (1776), the commiſſioners of the crown, lord Howe and the general, cauſed a proclamation to be publiſhed, promiſing in his majeſty's name a reviſion of all ſuch inſtructions as might be conſtrued to lay an improper reſtraint on the freedom of legiſlation in the colonies, and alſo to concur in the reviſal of ſuch acts by the operation of which they might think themſelves aggrieved. Though it was impoſſible to conjecture what was really meant by a promiſe ſo vague, had a declaration of this nature been made with good faith at an earlier period of the diſpute, it might doubtleſs have been attended with happy effects; but when a civil war had actually commenced, to indulge the moſt diſtant idea that the Americans would lay down their arms on the mere promiſe of a reviſion of the acts of that government whoſe authority they had renounced, was an idle and puerile expectation.

In the month of October the inhabitants of the city and iſland of New York, then in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, preſented a petition to the commiſſioners, ſigned by nine hundred and forty-ſix names, declaring their allegiance to the king, and their acknowledgement of the *conſtitutional ſupremacy* of Great Britain; and praying to be reſtored to his majeſty's peace and protection. This petition was followed by another of a ſimilar kind from Queen's county, in Long Iſland; but the example afforded little encouragement to others, when it was obſerved that theſe petitions were wholly unavailing; nor were they ever reſtored to the rights which they had been flattered by the proclamation with the expectation of regaining. On the 30th of November another proclamation was publiſhed by the commiſſioners, offering a pardon and indemnity to all perſons who ſhould within the ſpace of ſixty days ſurrender themſelves to any of his majeſty's general officers, admirals, &c. and ſubſcribe a declaration of loyalty and obedience. This proclamation being iſſued during the high tide of ſucceſs attending the royal arms, very many perſons, timid or treacherous, ſubſcribed the declaration accordingly; but at no time did the congreſs diſcover any ſymptoms of irreſolution. They removed indeed their ſeſſion from Philadelphia to Baltimore, in Maryland, where they adopted very vigorous meaſures both of offence and defence. They declared the property of the ſubjects of Great Britain taken on the high ſeas to be lawful prize; they reſolved upon raiſing eighty-eight battalions to ſerve during the war; they nominated three of their body, of whom Dr. Franklin was one, commiſſioners to the court of Verſailles, to ſolicit aid and aſſiſtance, and to propoſe the plan of a treaty of friendſhip, commerce and alliance: they enlarged the powers of their general, veſting in him a kind of dictatorial authority for the ſpace of ſix months; and they reſolved that all bills of credit emitted by congreſs ſhould paſs current in all tranſactions, and whoever refuſed to receive the ſame in the common courſe of payment ſhould be deemed an enemy to the liberties of America, and ſhould be treated accordingly. SUCH was the ſtate of America at the termination of the campaign of 1776, which, though late in its commencement, and ſhort in its duration, abounded in action, and exhibited viciſſitudes of fortune ſingularly important and intereſting.

The intelligence of the ſucceſſes attending the Britiſh arms on Long Iſland and at New York reached England ſome time before the meeting of parliament, which was convened October 31, 1776. In his ſpeech from the throne, the king, with unguarded and undignified intemperance of language, informed the two houſes, "that ſo daring and deſperate was the ſpirit of thoſe leaders whoſe object has always been dominion and power, that they have now openly renounced all allegiance to the crown, and all political connection with this country; they have rejected, with circumſtances of indignity and inſult, the means of conciliation held out to them, and have PRESUMED to ſet up their REBELLIOUS CONFEDERACIES as INDEPENDENT STATES. If their TREASON be ſuffered to take root, much miſchief muſt grow from it to the preſent ſyſtem of all Europe." His majeſty was happy to inform them, "that the ſucceſſes already obtained had been ſo important as to give the ſtrongeſt hopes of the moſt deciſive good conſequences; but, notwithſtanding this fair proſpect, it was neceſſary at all events to prepare for ANOTHER CAMPAIGN." Addreſſes, the echo of the ſpeech, were brought forward in both houſes; but an amendment, which was in reality another addreſs in a totally different ſtrain, was moved by lord John Cavendiſh in the houſe of commons, and the marquis of Rockingham in the houſe of lords, containing a maſterly recapitulation of the manifold errors of that ſyſtem which had cauſed the entire alienation, and at length the open revolt of ſo large a part of his majeſty's once loyal and affectionate ſubjects. It concluded with the obſervation, "that a wiſe and provident uſe of the late advantages might be productive of happy effects, as the means of eſtabliſhing a permanent connection between Great Britain and her colonies, on principles of liberty, and terms of mutual benefit" "We ſhould look,"

look," ſaid this truly excellent and admirable addreſs, "with ſhame and horror on any events that ſhould bow them to an abject and unconditional ſubmiſſion to any power whatſoever—annihilate their liberties, and ſubdue them to ſervile principles and paſſive habits by the mere force of foreign mercenary arms."

The ſpeech from the throne, under the eſtabliſhed and decorous pretext of its being the ſpeech of the miniſter, was treated with the moſt contemptuous and ſarcaſtic ſeverity. "Where," it was aſked, "are thoſe mighty leaders to be found whom the Americans obey ſo implicitly, and who govern them with ſo deſpotic a rule? They have no grandees among them; their ſoil is not productive of nobility; in no country are there in fact ſo few individuals poſſeſſed of a commanding or extenſive influence; the preſident of their ſupreme aſſembly is a merchant; the general of their armies a private gentleman. Nothing could be more evident than that a ſenſe of common danger and of common ſuffering had driven them to the neceſſity of creating leaders, who were poſſeſſed only of ſuch powers as the people had thought it expedient to entruſt them with. In the ſame ſpirit of FALSEHOOD it is aſſerted, "that the Americans had rejected with circumſtances of indignity and inſult the terms of conciliation offered them." The truth was, that no terms had been offered them but the offer of pardon on unconditional ſubmiſſion, which the miniſters well knew they would never accept; nor was even this mock offer made till the whole ſyſtem of irritation and oppreſſion was completed by the injuſtice and cruelty of the capture act, by which they were put out of the protection of the law, and their property held out as common ſpoil. The poſition in the ſpeech, ſo undeniably true, "*that no people ever enjoyed greater happineſs, or lived under a milder government, than theſe now revolted colonies,*" implied the ſevereſt cenſure on thoſe who had ſo wantonly and wickedly departed from a ſyſtem which had produced ſuch noble and wonderful effects. The expectation of unanimity from the preſent ſituation of affairs, was, however, ſaid to be of all the parts of this extravagant ſpeech the moſt ridiculous. "What! ſhall we at laſt concur in meaſures, becauſe all the miſchiefs which were originally predicted have ultimately reſulted from them? Have miniſters the unparalleled effrontery to call upon us to give OUR ſanction to that fatal ſyſtem which we in vain warned and implored them to ſhun, and which perſiſted in muſt terminate in utter ruin?" On a diviſion, the amendment was rejected in the houſe of commons by a majority of 242 to 87, and in the houſe of peers by 91 to 26; fourteen of whom joined in a proteſt, in which the propoſed amendment was verbatim inſerted, in order that it might remain as a perpetual memorial on the journals of that houſe.

In a few days after the addreſſes were preſented, lord John Cavendiſh, exhibiting in the houſe a printed paper, purporting to be a proclamation of his majeſty's commiſſioners in America, called upon miniſters to inform him as to the authenticity of it. This being acknowledged, his lordſhip expreſſed in the ſtrongeſt terms his aſtoniſhment at the contempt and indignity offered to the houſe, who, through the medium of a common newſpaper only, were at length informed that they ſtand engaged to America to undertake a reviſion of all thoſe laws by which the Americans had conceived themſelves to be aggrieved. Notwithſtanding the reſentment he felt as a member of the houſe at this miniſterial inſolence of conduct, his lordſhip ſaid that he felt a dawn of joy break in upon his mind at the bare mention of reconciliation, whatever color the meaſures might wear that led to ſo deſirable an event. The great object of reſtoring peace and unity to this diſtracted empire outweighed ſo far with him all other preſent conſiderations, that he not only would overlook *punctilios* on this account, but even ſuch matters of real inport as would upon any other occaſion call all his powers into action. On theſe grounds his lordſhip moved, "that the houſe ſhould reſolve itſelf into a committee to conſider of the reviſal of all acts of parliament by which his majeſty's ſubjects in America think themſelves aggrieved." The miniſters, though thrown by the ſurprize of this motion into ſome perplexity, alleged in their vindication, "That the paper in queſtion was not of *ſufficient moment* to be laid before parliament, being no treaty nor part of a treaty, but barely a preliminary, which might poſſibly lead to one. That a public proclamation, ſubmitted to the general inſpection upon the walls and houſes of New York, could not however be intended to be kept from the knowledge of parliament; and they conceived the authority exerciſed by the commiſſioners to be already delegated by the act under which they derived their power—that, as to the motion itſelf, they conceived it to be highly improper, as tending to diſgrace the commiſſioners, and defeat their endeavors to obtain the moſt advantageous terms for this kingdom. They alſo inſiſted, that, until the ſpirit of independency was effectually ſubdued, it would be idle and futile to enter upon any reviſions; but from our late ſucceſſes there was little room to doubt but that the *cruel thraldom* in which the people of America were held by the congreſs would be quickly diſſolved, and that America would return to her duty with more eagerneſs and alacrity than ſhe had entered into this revolt; and that then would be the time to talk of legiſlative regulations for their future government."

This language kindled anew the indignation of the oppoſition. "That the moſt important paper publiſhed in the courſe of this controverſy, containing propoſitions of conciliation in which the houſe were parties ſo nearly concerned, ſhould not be thought of *ſufficient moment* to be laid before them, was treated as an incredible extravagance; and to pretend that the commiſſioners were already authoriſed to engage for the reviſion of the laws in queſtion, was a palpable falſehood. The act by which they were appointed empowered them only to grant pardons, and enquire into grievances; and the concurrence of the houſe was abſolutely neceſſary to give effect to the proclamation. If the miniſters oppoſed ſuch concurrence, it was evident that the offer was a branch of that inſidious and treacherous ſyſtem by which they aimed to divide, while by their fleets and armies they were endeavoring to deſtroy and exterminate the colonies. To ſay that this proclamation was not intended to be kept from the knowledge of parliament, was a mockery of parliament; for how could the members of that houſe be ſuppoſed acquainted with the papers poſted up in the ſtreets of New York?" But the doctrine they moſt of all reprobated, was, that an abſolute and unconditional renunciation of American independence muſt precede the reviſion of the laws in queſtion, or any redreſs of grievances whatever. "Upon what precedent," ſaid they, "is this horrid maxim founded? or what code of hiſtory or policy have our miniſters made the rule of their preſent conduct? Philip II. of Spain, who was in his day conſidered as the moſt gloomy and unrelenting tyrant in chriſtendom, adopted a wiſer and more moderate policy. In his wars with the revolted provinces of Holland, he repeatedly promiſed, in terms the moſt explicit and poſitive, the complete redreſs of all their grievances, without requiring a previous renunciation of their independence. But the doctrine now broached was a doctrine which led to the laſt extremities of human miſery. It was a condition which could not be enforced without the effuſion of oceans of blood, and in fact it was holding out to America the option only of SLAVERY or DEATH." The motion, after a long and paſſionate debate, was negatived by a majority of 62 voices; and from this time many of the oppoſition, chiefly of the Rockingham party, abſented themſelves from the houſe, and a clear field was left during the greater part of the ſeſſion to the miniſters—the vaſt ſupplies demanded by them being granted in almoſt empty houſes, without examination or debate.

A gloomy ſilence prevailed, and miniſters in the height of their parliamentary triumphs were ill able to counterfeit the external appearances of ſatisfaction. The members of the ſeceſſion, in vindication of themſelves, urged "that there was no ſaving a people againſt their will; that they had for a ſucceſſion of years apprized and warned the nation of the dangers attending thoſe ruinous meaſures which it was purſuing, and of the fatal precipice that muſt terminate this mad miniſterial career—it was too degrading to be the continual inſtruments of oppoſing the ineffective weapons of reaſon and argument to a ſyſtem of pre-determined irritation and violence—that as good and bad ſucceſs were equally urged, and alike admitted, as motives for a perſeverance in this courſe, it was not the part of wiſdom to ſtrive with impoſſibilities, or to draw upon themſelves the odium of their fellow-citizens by an ineffectual attempt to ſerve them—that they would therefore reſerve their exertions for a ſeaſon when the preſent national delirium had ſo far abated as to afford ſome hope of advantage."

Soon after the receſs the miniſter, depending perhaps on the preſent indiſpoſition of the minority to conteſt any point whatever with the court, introduced a bill to enable his majeſty to ſecure and detain perſons charged with or SUSPECTED of the crime of high treaſon committed in America or on the high ſeas. With ſuch negligent latitude, or to ſpeak more juſtly, with ſuch treacherous artifice of conſtruction, was the bill framed, that, by the enacting clauſes, the crown was enabled, *at its pleaſure*, to commit any perſon reſident in the Britiſh dominions to cuſtody, without bail or mainprize, under his majeſty's ſign manual, in any place of confinement ſituate in Great Britain or ELSEWHERE. For though the act of treaſon, according to the propoſed bill, muſt be committed in America.

rica, the crown lawyers and the *king's friends* maintained, and caſes were quoted to prove, that ſuch treaſonable act might be perpetrated by perſons who had never been out of the kingdom, if its operation could be ſubſequently ſhewn to extend to America. Thus was the Habeas Corpus act, that great bulwark of Britiſh liberty, completely annihilated by a vile and infamous conſtruction of law, which left it in the power of the crown to apprehend on the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion, or pretence of ſuſpicion, any individual againſt whom the vengeance of the court was meant to be directed; and to convey them beyond the ſeas to any of the garriſons in Africa or the Indies, far from all hope or poſſibility of relief. The alarm occaſioned by this bill brought back the members of the oppoſition to the houſe, and a moſt reſolute, vigorous, and animated reſiſtance was made to it in every ſtage of its progreſs. At length the miniſter, who really appears not to have been thoroughly apprized of the nature of the bill, and of the dreadful extent of the powers veſted by it in the crown, frankly and explicitly diſavowed as to himſelf all deſign of extending the operation of the bill beyond its open and avowed objects. He ſaid, "that the bill was intended for America, and not for England; that, as he ſhould aſk for no power that was not wanted, ſo he would ſcorn to receive it by any covert means: and that, far from wiſhing to eſtabliſh any unconſtitutional precedent, he neither ſought nor wiſhed any powers to be veſted in the crown or its miniſters which were capable of being employed to bad or oppreſſive purpoſes." He therefore agreed to receive the amendments propoſed; the principal of which were in ſubſtance: 1. That the clauſe empowering his majeſty to confine ſuch perſons as might be apprehended under this act *in any part of his dominions*, ſhould be modified by the inſertion of the words, "within the realm;" and 2dly, That an additional clauſe or proviſo be inſerted, "that nothing in this act ſhall be conſtrued to extend to perſons reſident in Great Britain." Theſe conceſſions gave extreme offence to the leaders of the high prerogative party, who had zealouſly defended the bill in its original ſtate, and who now exclaimed, "that they were deſerted by the miniſter in a manner which ſeemed calculated to diſgrace the whole meaſure, to confirm all the charges and ſurmiſes of their adverſaries, and to fix all the odium upon them." And it was indeed ſufficiently evident from the whole conduct of the buſineſs, that the miniſter on this and other occaſions, was not admitted into the inmoſt receſſes of the royal cabinet.

On the 9th of April 1777, a meſſage was delivered by the miniſter from the king, in which his majeſty expreſſed his concern in acquainting the houſe with the difficulties he labored under from the debts incurred by expences of the civil government, amounting on the 5th of January preceding to upwards of 600,000l. And the houſe on this meſſage reſolving itſelf into a committee of ſupply, the miniſter moved, "that the ſum of 618,000l. be granted to enable his majeſty to diſcharge the debts of the civil government; and that the ſum of 100,000l. per annum, over and above the ſum of 800,000l. be granted as a farther proviſion for the ſame." This gave riſe to a vehement debate. It was affirmed to be a meaſure of the groſſeſt impropriety and indecency to bring forward ſuch a demand in ſuch a ſeaſon of national diſtreſs and calamity; when burdens are accumulated upon burdens, to tell a people already ſinking under their load, that the grandeur of the crown is not ſufficiently ſupported; and that an increaſe of taxes is neceſſary in order to increaſe its ſplendor! But even this plea, however inadequate to the juſtification of miniſters, was far remote from the truth. It was notorious that the debt had been incurred in carrying on and ſupporting a ſyſtem of corruption; in obtaining that baneful and unbounded influence which had ſwept every thing before it; which had brought the nation to the brink of deſtruction, and had deprived us in a very great meaſure of all the benefits derived from a limited government. The harſh and ſtern voice of prerogative was indeed no longer heard; but the danger was much greater from the ſilent progreſs of a malady, which, though ſlower, was far more certain. They ſaid, that the debts of the crown had been not many years ſince diſcharged without account, to the amount of more than half a million. What is the conſequence? Another and larger demand is made, and a vaſt annual increaſe aſked, without even the wretched ſecurity of miniſterial promiſe, that new debts will not be contracted, and new augmentations demanded. They obſerved, that, on a compariſon of the expenditure of the laſt eight years, with a ſimilar period terminating the reign of the late king, the exceſs of the article of penſions would be found to amount to 213,000l. and that the increaſe in the article of ſecret ſervice was yet more enormous. In two lines only, the ſums of 171,000l. and 114,000l. were charged for ſecret ſervices, iſſued under the direction of the *ſecretaries of the treaſury*. That money ſhould be entruſted to the ſecretaries of ſtate, for the purpoſe of procuring foreign intelligence, muſt doubtleſs be acknowledged neceſſary; but that the ſubordinate officers of the treaſury, who can have no public connection beyond their own office, ſhould be avowed irreſponſible agents for the unlimited diſpoſal of the public money, was indeed alarming; and left no room for doubt as to its deſign or application. Above half a million was ſtated under the head of the Board of Works, though no one could conjecture on what palace, park, garden, or royal work of any kind the money had been expended; nor were any vouchers produced by which the houſe could form a judgment of the propriety of any branch of the expenditure. It appeared only upon the whole, that under every head the expence was infinitely increaſed, while the external ſplendor of royalty was in the ſame proportion diminiſhed. The accounts laid upon the table ſtated the annual allowance for the privy purſe to be raiſed from 48,000l. in the late reign to 60,000l. and, what was much more extraordinary, it appeared that the queen's privy purſe was fixed at 50,000l. although queen Ann, reigning as ſovereign in her own right, had contented herſelf with an allowance of 20,000l.—Such nevertheleſs was the unlimited complaiſance of parliament, that the demands of the miniſter were granted almoſt without the formality of a diviſion*.

The oppoſition in the houſe of lords was equally unavailing. The bill was, however, accompanied with a ſtrong proteſt; but the moſt remarkable circumſtance attending it, was the ſpeech made by the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons to his majeſty, on preſenting it a few days afterwards for the royal aſſent." In a time, Sire," ſaid he, "of public diſtreſs, full of difficulty and danger, their conſtituents labouring under burdens almoſt too heavy to be borne, your faithful commons, poſtponing all other buſineſs, have not only granted to your majeſty a large preſent ſupply, but alſo a very great additional revenue, great beyond example, great beyond your majeſty's higheſt expence; but all this, Sir, they have done in the *well-grounded confidence*, that you will apply wiſely what they have granted liberally." The countenance of the king plainly indicated how little acceptable was this unexpected liberty. On the return of the ſpeaker and the attendant members, the thanks of the houſe were nevertheleſs immediately voted him; yet not without exciting the ſecret and acrimonious reſentment of the *king's friends*, or prerogative party; one of whom, Mr. Rigby, took occaſion in a ſubſequent debate to arraign the conduct of the ſpeaker with unuſual vehemence, as conveying little leſs than an inſult on the king, and as equally miſrepreſenting the ſenſe of parliament and the ſtate of the nation. The ſentiments delivered at the bar of the other houſe, he ſaid, were not thoſe of the houſe of commons; he for one totally diſclaimed them; and he had no doubt but a majority of the houſe thought with him. The ſpeaker appealed to the vote of thanks which had been paſſed, as a proof that he had not been guilty of the miſrepreſentation imputed to him: and the miniſter, uneaſy at the altercation, intimated his wiſh that the ſubject might not be farther diſcuſſed. But Mr. Fox, immediately riſing, declared, "that a ſerious and direct charge having been brought, the queſtion was now at iſſue. Either the ſpeaker had miſrepreſented the ſenſe of the houſe, or he had not. He ſhould therefore, in order to bring this queſtion to a proper and final deciſion, move, that the ſpeaker of the houſe, in his ſpeech to his majeſty at the bar of the houſe of peers, did expreſs with juſt and proper energy the ſentiments of this houſe." The ſpeaker himſelf declared, "that he would ſit no longer in that chair than while he was ſupported in the free exerciſe of his duty. He had diſcharged what he conceived to be his duty, intending only to expreſs the ſenſe of the houſe; and from the vote of approbation with which he had been honored, he had reaſon to believe, he was not chargeable with any miſrepreſentation." The miniſters now found themſelves involved in a moſt unpleaſant dilemma, and in preſſing terms recommended the withdrawment of the motion. This being poſitively refuſed, Mr. Rigby moved for the houſe to adjourn. But the houſe appearing evidently ſenſible of the degradation which its dignity muſt ſuſtain from any affront offered to the chair, he at length thought fit in ſome degree to concede; and profeſſed, "that he meant no reflection upon the character of the ſpeaker, but that what he had ſaid was the mere expreſſion of his private opinion, and the reſult of that freedom of ſpeech which was the right and privilege of every member of that houſe, without reſpect of perſons; and that, if what he had advanced was not agreeable to the ſenſe of that houſe, he would readily withdraw his motion of adjournment:" which being done, Mr. Fox's motion was unanimouſly carried; and, to complete the triumph, the thanks of the houſe to the ſpeaker for his conduct in this affair were alſo moved, and agreed to without oppoſition.

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* "When we ſee," ſays a humorous writer, "the print of Garagantua, that has a mouth as large as an oven, and ſwallows at one meal twelve hundred pounds of bread, twenty oxen, a hundred ſheep, ſix hundred fowls, fifteen hundred hares, two thouſand quails, a thouſand barrels of wine, ſix thouſand peaches, &c. &c. &c. who does not ſay: That is the mouth of a King?"

The ſeſſion being now near its cloſe, lord Chatham, unwilling that it ſhould paſs over without ſome public teſtimony of his unutterable abhorrence of the war which now diſtracted and convulſed the empire, and of the principles and conduct of thoſe men whoſe weak and wicked counſels had involved the nation in its preſent calamities, attended the houſe of peers on the 30th of May, wrapped in flannels, and bearing a crutch in each hand. At the riſk of his health, and perhaps of his life, this great ſtateſman preſented himſelf thus oppreſſed with infirmities, for the purpoſe of moving their lordſhips, who had been previouſly ſummoned, "That an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, moſt humbly to adviſe his majeſty to take the moſt ſpeedy and effectual meaſures for putting a ſtop to the preſent unnatural war againſt the colonies, upon the only juſt and ſolid foundation, namely, the removal of accumulated grievances." His lordſhip ſaid, that he had at different times made different propoſitions, adapted to the circumſtances in which they were offered. The plan contained in the former bill was at this time, he confeſſed, impracticable. "The preſent motion will open the way for treaty. It will be the harbinger of peace, and will convince the Americans, that parliament is ſincerely diſpoſed to reconciliation. We have tried for unconditional ſubmiſſion—let us now try what can be gained by unconditional redreſs. The door of mercy has been hitherto ſhut againſt them; you have ranſacked every corner of Germany for boors and ruf-

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ſians to invade and ravage their country; for to conquer it, my lords, is impoſſible—you CANNOT do it. I may as well pretend to drive them before me with THIS CRUTCH. I am experienced in ſpring hopes and vernal promiſes, but at laſt will come your equinoctial diſappointment. But were it practicable by a long continued courſe of ſucceſs to conquer America, the holding it in ſubjection afterwards will be utterly impoſſible. No benefit can be derived from that country to this, but by the goodwill and pure affection of the inhabitants: this is not to be gained by force of arms; their affection is only to be recovered by reconciliation and juſtice. If miniſters are founded in ſaying, that no engagements are entered into by America with France, there is yet a moment left; the point of honor is ſtill ſafe; a few weeks may decide our fate as a nation. Were America ſuffered to form a treaty with France, we ſhould not only loſe the immenſe advantages reſulting from the vaſt and increaſing commerce of our colonies, but thoſe advantages would be thrown into the hands of our hereditary enemy. America, my lords, is now contending with Great Britain under a MASKED BATTERY of France, which will open as ſhe perceives this country to be ſufficiently weakened by the conteſt. France will not loſe ſo fair an opportunity of ſeparating for ever America from this kingdom. This is the critical mement—for ſuch a treaty muſt and will take place, ſhould pacification be delayed; and war between England and France is not the leſs probable becauſe profeſſions of amity continue to be made. It would be folly in France to declare it now, while America gives full employment to our arms, and is pouring into her lap her wealth and produce. While the trade of Great Britain languiſhes, while her taxes increaſe and her revenues diminiſh, France is ſecuring and drawing to herſelf that commerce which is the baſis of your power. My motion was ſtated generally, that I might leave the queſtion at large to the wiſdom of your lordſhips. But, my lords, I will tell you fairly what I wiſh for—I wiſh for a repeal of every oppreſſive act paſſed ſince 1763; I would put America preciſely on the footing ſhe ſtood at that period. If it be aſked, Why ſhould WE ſubmit to concede? I will tell you, my lords: Becauſe you have been the aggreſſors from the beginning; you ought, therefore, to make the firſt overture. I ſay again, my lords, you have been the aggreſſors, you have made deſcents upon their coaſts, you have burnt their towns, plundered their country, made war upon the inhabitants, confiſcated their property, proſcribed and impriſoned their perſons;—you have injured, oppreſſed, and endeavored to enſlave them. America is therefore entitled to redreſs. Let then reparation come from the hand that inflicted the injuries; let conciliation ſucceed to oppreſſion; and I maintain, that parliament will again recover its authority; that his majeſty will be once more enthroned in the hearts of his ſubjects; and that your lordſhips, as contributing to ſo great, benignant, and glorious an event, will receive the prayers and benedictions of every part of the Britiſh empire." The peers in adminiſtration repeated upon this occaſion their accuſtomed arguments againſt conceſſions of any kind, as an acknowledgment of weakneſs on our part, which would excite the contempt of our friends, and foſter the malice of our enemies. They poſitively denied any danger from France, and aſſerted, that "the aſſiſtance given to the Americans proceeded neither from the court nor the miniſters, but from the ſpirit of military enterpriſe and commercial adventure; and finally, that the motion arraigned in the moſt improper terms meaſures which had received the ſanction of parliament." On a diviſion, the numbers were 99 to 28 peers who ſupported the queſtion.

On the 7th of June, 1777, the ſeſſion was terminated, and his majeſty expreſſed in his ſpeech his entire approbation of the conduct of parliament, laviſhing upon them high and flattering compliments for the unqueſtionable proofs they had given of their CLEAR DISCERNMENT of the TRUE INTERESTS of their COUNTRY.

During the ſeſſion, a memorial, in a very unuſual ſtyle, was delivered by Sir Joſeph Yorke, Ambaſſador at the Hague, to the ſtates general, in which his excellency declared, "That the king, his maſter, had hitherto borne with unexampled patience the irregular conduct of the ſubjects of their high mightineſſes, in their intereſted commerce at St. Euſtatia, as alſo in America. If, ſaid the ambaſſador, the meaſures which your high mightineſſes have thought proper to take, had been as efficacious as your aſſurances have been amicable, the underſigned would not now have been under the neceſſity of bringing to the cognizance of your high mightineſſes, facts of the moſt ſerious nature. His excellency then proceeds to ſtate, that M. Van Graaf, governor of St. Euſtatia, had permitted the ſeizure of an Engliſh veſſel, by an *American pirate*, within cannon ſhot of the iſland; and that he had returned from the fortreſs of his government the ſalute of a rebel flag: and the ambaſſador concludes, with demanding, in his majeſty's name, and by his expreſs order, from their high mightineſſes, a formal diſavowal of the ſalute by Fort Orange at St. Euſtatia to the rebel ſhip, and the diſmiſſion and immediate recall of the governor Van Graaf; declaring farther, that until ſuch ſatisfaction is given, they are not to expect, that his majeſty will ſuffer himſelf to be amuſed by mere aſſurances, or that he will delay one inſtant to take ſuch meaſures as he ſhall think due to the intereſt and dignity of his crown."

The ſtates, highly offended at the imperious language of this memorial, would give no anſwer whatever to the ambaſſador, but ordered count Welderen, the reſident in London, to deliver into the king of England's own hand a counter-memorial, in which they complain of the menacing tone that reigns throughout that of the Engliſh court, ſuch as ought not to take place between ſovereign and independent powers; adding, however, "that from the ſole motive of demonſtrating their regard to his majeſty, they have actually diſpatched orders to M. de Graaf to render himſelf within the republic without delay, in order to give the neceſſary information reſpecting his conduct; nor do they ſcruple to diſavow, in the moſt expreſs manner, any act or mark of honor which may have been given by their officers to any veſſels belonging to the colonies of America, ſo far as it may imply a *recognition of American independence.*" The king thought proper to declare himſelf ſatisfied with theſe conceſſions, but the utmoſt coolneſs from this time ſubſiſted between the courts of London and the Hague.

The acrimony diſplayed on this occaſion by the former, may be without doubt imputed in a great degree to the extreme offence taken, previous to the interchange of theſe memorials, at the refuſal of the ſtates to part with the *Scots brigade* in their ſervice, at the deſire of the king of England, ſignified by a letter written to their high mightineſſes in his own hand. "In what an odious light muſt this unnatural civil war appear to all Europe!" ſaid one of the deputies of the Province of Overyſſel, M. Vander Capelle, in the debate which aroſe on this ſubject. "More odious ſtill would it appear for a nation to take part therein who have ſucceſsfully reſiſted oppreſſion, and fought themſelves free. Superlatively deteſtable muſt it appear to thoſe who, like me, regard the Americans as a brave people, engaged in defending thoſe rights which they derive from GOD, not from the legiſlature of Great Britain. For the purpoſe of ſuppreſſing ſuch a revolt, or, as ſome pleaſe to call it, ſuch a rebellion as this, I had rather ſee janiſſaries hired than the ſubjects of a free ſtate."

The CAMPAIGN of 1777, in America, commenced early in the ſpring by the deſtruction of a conſiderable magazine of ſtores at a place called Courtland-Manor, on the banks of the North River, by a detachment under colonel Bird, and another at Danbury, by another corps conducted by general Tryon, late governor of New York, who was attacked on his return by a large body of provincials, led by colonel now general Arnold, and ſuffered in his retreat great loſs. Arnold on this as on all occaſions diſtinguiſhed himſelf by acts of extraordinary perſonal valor. His horſe being ſhot under him, he with difficulty diſengaged himſelf; and, ſeeing a ſoldier at the ſame moment with a fixed bayonet advancing towards him, he drew out a piſtol and ſhot him dead on the ſpot. The Americans on their part retaliated by an attack on the Engliſh poſt and magazine at Saggs Harbor, in Long Iſland, where they deſtroyed a large quantity of ſtores, and burnt a number of ſloops and other veſſels lying in the harbor, with inconſiderable loſs. Lord Cornwallis continued in his ſtation at Amboy, watched and ſtraitened in a manner which expoſed the troops to the hardſhips of a moſt ſevere and unremitting duty, though lately ſtrengthened by a brigade of Britiſh, and ſome companies of grenadiers and light infantry from Rhode Iſland. The order for theſe troops was ſent by general now Sir William Howe (the "bluſhing honors" of the Bath having been recently conferred upon him in reward of his ſervices) to lord Percy, in the abſence of general Clinton. His lordſhip did not immediately comply, but returned for anſwer, "that the enemy were collecting a large force near Providence, with which circumſtance he ſuppoſed general Howe to be unacquainted:" adding, "that he thought it his duty to repreſent the danger that might reſult from ſending away ſo large a corps." General Howe replied, "that lord Percy knew the conſequence of diſobedience of orders —trial by court-martial and certain ſentence of being broke, and inſiſted upon his orders being punctually obeyed."

From ſome extraordinary and unaccountable negligence, the army at New York were not able to take the field till June, for want of tents and camp equipage; which at length arriving, general Howe paſſed over in full force into the Jerſeys, with a fixed intention if poſſible to bring the American commander to a general action; but on approaching his camp at Middlebrook, it was found abſolutely inacceſſible, from the nature of its ſituation and its artificial defences. Every manœuvre was practiſed by the Engliſh general to induce his antagoniſt to relinquiſh this advantageous ſtation, but in vain. A feint was made of leaving the American army in the rear, and marching directly to the Delawar; but the American FABIUS was not to be deceived. "Had their deſign," ſaid he, in his letter of the 17th June, "been in the firſt inſtance to croſs the Delawar, they would probably have made a ſtraight rapid march towards it, and not have halted as they have done to awaken our attention, and give us time to make every preparation for obſtructing them." At length general Howe decamped ſuddenly in the night of the 20th, and retreated to Brunſwick. On the 22d he fell back to Amboy, being much harraſſed in his whole line of march by the advanced parties of the enemy. General Waſhington himſelf, quitting his ſtrong camp at Middlebrook, moved with his army to Quibble-town, that he might be nearer the royal forces, and might act according to circumſtances. The Engliſh commander, who had actually thrown a bridge over the channel which ſeparates the continent from Staten Iſland, and part of whoſe troops had already paſſed over, now made a rapid march by different routes back into the Jerſeys, in the hope of ſurpriſing general Waſhington at Quibble-town; but on the firſt intelligence of this movement, the American general, penetrating the deſign, re-poſſeſſed himſelf of his former ſtrong poſition at Middlebrook:—and knowing that lord Cornwallis at the head of a ſtrong detached corps was advancing by a circuitous route to the right, he fortified the paſſes of the mountains on that ſide of his camp; ſo that lord Cornwallis, who had defeated in his march a conſiderable body of the enemy under lord

Sterling, and who hoped to have co-operated with general Howe by ſecuring the paſſes in the rear, was compelled reluctantly to retire.

The whole plan of attack being thus fruſtrated, general Howe came to a ſecond and final reſolution of evacuating the Jerſeys; and in both his retreats ſuch havoc, ſpoil, and ruin, were made by the forces under his perſonal inſpection and command, as were well calculated to obviate the ſuſpicion that any ſecret partiality to America yet remained in the breaſt of the Engliſh general.

A great part of the ſummer had now elapſed, and the primary object of the campaign had proved wholly abortive. In vindication of the conduct of Sir William Howe it was alleged, that to bring the enemy to action was impoſſible; and to advance to the Delawar, through a country entirely hoſtile, and with ſuch a force in his rear, would be no better than *madneſs*. But if ſo, the war itſelf was evidently no better than *madneſs*, as theſe difficulties were preciſely ſuch as they had every reaſon previouſly to expect. Another project, however, was now to be tried, and preparations were made for a grand naval expedition. On the 23d of July the whole army, leaving only a ſufficient force for the defence of New York, embarked on board the fleet, and after a long and tedious voyage the troops were landed at Elk Ferry, at the head of Cheſapeak Bay. General Waſhington, who had for many weeks been kept in anxious ſuſpenſe as to the deſtination of the Britiſh army, upon this intelligence took poſſeſſion of the heights on the eaſtern ſide of the river Brandywine, which falls into the Delawar below Philadelphia, with an intention to diſpute the paſſage. By day-break on the 11th of September the Britiſh army advanced in two columns: the right, commanded by general Knyphauſen, marching directly to Chadsford; and the other column, under lord Cornwallis, taking a circuit to the left, in order to croſs the *forks* of the Brandywine, and attack the enemy on the right flank. Both were in a conſiderable degree ſucceſsful; the firſt after a ſevere conflict forcing the paſſage of the ford, and the latter ſurpriſing and totally diſcomfiting the brigades commanded by Sullivan, which compoſed the right wing of the American army. The approach of night prevented the royal army from purſuing its advantages, and the loſs of the Americans did not exceed thirteen hundred men in killed, wounded, and priſoners; to which that of the Britiſh bore a very large proportion. The Marquis de la Fayette, a young French nobleman, who had recently entered as a volunteer into the American ſervice, and count Pulawſki, a native of Poland, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their gallantry on this occaſion. General Waſhington, on the diſaſter of Brandywine, retreated towards Philadelphia; but on the advance of general Howe, not deeming it expedient ſo ſoon to riſk a ſecond engagement, he withdrew, and the Engliſh army paſſed the Schuylkil without oppoſition and on the 26th of September general Howe entered Philadelphia in triumph, the congreſs having previouſly removed their ſittings to York-town in Virginia. About the ſame time a detached corps of Americans, commanded by general Wayne, was ſurpriſed and totally routed by major general Grey, at the head of two regiments and a body of light infantry. The attack being made with fixed bayonets, the execution was terrible.

No ſooner was it known to lord Howe that the Engliſh army was in poſſeſſion of Philadelphia, than he moved round with the fleet from the Cheſapeak to the Delawar, the navigation of which the Americans had endeavored to render impracticable by works and batteries conſtructed on a low marſhy iſland, formed near the junction of the Delawar and the Schuylkil; and on the oppoſite ſhore, by a ſtrong fort erected at a place called Red Bank. Acroſs the mid-channel they had in various parts ſunk vaſt machines, compoſed of tranſverſe beams firmly united and pointing in various directions, ſtrongly headed with iron, to which, from the reſemblance of form, the appellation was given of *chevaux-de-frize.* The head-quarters of the army at this time were at a place called German-town, ſix miles from Philadelphia —the encampment croſſing the village at right angles about the céntre. General Waſhington, who was poſted in a ſtrong poſition at the diſtance of about ſixteen miles on the banks of the Schuylkil, and who had kept a watchful eye on the movements of the enemy, thinking this a favorable opportunity of attack, decamped in the evening of the 3d of October, and, marching all night, arrived at three in the morning at German-town. The fortieth regiment, commanded by colonel Muſgrave, who were firſt attacked, made ſo gallant a reſiſtance that the whole army had time to form; and major general Grey bringing up the left wing by a rapid and ſeaſonable movement, the Americans were reduced to act on the defenſive, and, after a conflict maintained for ſeveral hours in darkneſs and confuſion, were compelled to retreat, but with ſo little loſs that they carried off with them their whole train of artillery. Though the diſappointment of the enemy was great, the Engliſh commander had little reaſon to boaſt of his victory; the killed and wounded in this engagement conſiderably exceeded the loſs at Brandywine, and it was perceived with ſenſible chagrin that the Americans had become no mean proficients in the art of war.

A neceſſary work of very great importance and no ſmall difficulty was now to be attempted in the attack of the works at Red Bank, and the oppoſite iſland, which commanded the paſſage of the Delawar, without the free navigation of which neither fleet nor army could winter at Philadelphia. On the 22d of October an effort was made, by a numerous body of Heſſians commanded by colonel Donop, to ſtorm the fortreſs of Red Bank; but, after diſplaying much bravery, they were repulſed with prodigious ſlaughter. An unuſually fierce attack was at the ſame time made by the ſhipping on the works of Fort Iſland, on which they made little impreſſion; and the Auguſta man of war; and Merlin ſloop, in avoiding the *chevaux-de-frize*, were ſtranded, and the Auguſta by accident blown up. On the 15th of November the attack was renewed with a more formidable force; and the works being now nearly demoliſhed, the garriſon retired in the night acroſs the river in boats to Red Bank, which was alſo ſoon afterwards evacuated, for reaſons which do not ſufficiently appear. The *chevaux-de-frize* were now weighed with great difficulty, and the free navigation of the river reſtored; but winter was by this time approaching, the ſeaſon for action had elapſed, and no farther military or naval enterpriſes of moment were attempted during the ſhort remainder of the campaign.

While ſuch was the diſappointment reſulting from a ſucceſſion of victories in the ſouth, it will now be neceſſary to advert to the terrible conſequences of defeat and diſaſter in the north. After the evacuation of Canada by the Americans, in the ſummer of 1776, incredible exertions were made on the part of the Engliſh to acquire a naval ſuperiority on Lake Champlain, ſo neceſſary to the ſucceſs of their future projects. A fleet of above thirty veſſels, all carrying cannon, was in about three months little leſs than created, though a few of the largeſt were re-conſtructions, having been firſt framed and ſent over from Great Britain. The American fleet, though not inconſiderable, was by no means equal to cope with this great force. It is remarkable that the two fleets were commanded by land officers, general Carleton and general Arnold being equally ambitious to ſupport on a new element the reputation they had acquired by their military ſkill and conduct.

Early on the 11th of October 1776, the Britiſh armament, proceeding up the lake, diſcovered the enemy's fleet drawn up with great judgment, in a line extending from the iſland of Valicourt to the weſtern main. A warm action enſued, in which the Americans, notwithſtanding the extraordinary courage and intrepid efforts of their commander, were entirely defeated. General Arnold was under the neceſſity of ſetting fire to his own ſhip, the congreſs galley, to prevent her falling into the hands of the Engliſh, not quitting her however till ſhe was actually in flames; and with nice and dangerous attention to the point of honor keeping his flag flying to the laſt moment. Thus was Lake Champlain recovered, the enemy's force being nearly deſtroyed—a few ſmall veſſels only making their eſcape to Ticonderoga. Crown Point, on this diſaſtrous event, was immediately abandoned, and the American force concentrated at Ticonderoga; which being adjudged too ſtrongly defended to be attacked with ſucceſs at this advanced ſeaſon, general Carleton now put his troops into winter cantonments in Canada.

In all the complex and hazardous operations of the Canadian war, general Carleton had conducted himſelf with equal judgment, vigor, and ſucceſs; and his generous and humane treatment of the priſoners which had fallen into his hands, formed a ſtriking contraſt to the barbarity which pervaded the military priſons of New York. Of the Indians in his ſervice general Carleton had made a very ſparing uſe, and at the end of the campaign they were diſmiſſed on a general promiſe of returning when called for. But it was believed that he had, in his diſpatches to England, ſtrongly remonſtrated againſt the employment of ſavages in any ſhape whatever in the farther proſecution of this war. Whether on this or on other accounts offence was taken at his conduct, cannot certainly be known; but, to the ſurpriſe, and no doubt to the chagrin of the governor, general Burgoyne, who had paſſed the winter in England, arrived early in the ſpring of 1777 in America, with a commiſſion appointing him general of the northern army beyond the limits of the province of Canada.

The plan of the intended expedition ſouthward of the lakes had been entirely concerted between the American ſecretary and general Burgoyne, who, to uſe his own courtly language, "had thrown himſelf at his majeſty's FEET, to be employed in any way that he thought proper." In purſuance of this plan, general Burgoyne proceeded up Lake Champlain, and landed a little to the northward of Crown Point, where he met the Indians in congreſs, and in compliance with their cuſtoms gave them a WAR FEAST; and in an harangue which he afterwards made to theſe ſavages, he endeavored to excite their ardor, and at the ſame time to repreſs their barbarity—incompatibilities which no art or eloquence could hope to reconcile. This was followed (June 1777) by a manifeſto, in which the general, in language approaching the oriental ſtyle of exaggeration and bombaſt, ſtrove to inſpire the Americans with terror, by a repreſentation of the irreſiſtible force which he commanded, and to awe them into ſubmiſſion by menaces, which produced no other effect than, by exciting their utmoſt reſentment and deteſtation, to rouſe them more ſtrongly into action[*].

After a ſhort ſtay at Crown Point, the army proceeded under convoy of the ſhipping on the lake to Ticonderoga, a poſt of uncommon natural ſtrength, and rendered famous by the diſaſtrous attack made upon it by general Abercrombie in the preceding war. Here the Americans appeared to be in great force, and they had beſtowed infinite labor in repairing the old works and in adding new, ſo that the ſiege of this fortreſs was conſidered as an enterpriſe of great hazard and difficulty; but, on the firſt approach of the Engliſh, it was ſuddenly and unaccountably evacuated by the garriſon on the night of the 5th of July, by direction of the commander general St. Clair, leaving behind them their artillery, proviſions, and ſtores. No ſooner had the firſt dawn of the morning diſcovered the flight of the enemy, than preparations were made for a vigorous purſuit both by land and water. The main body of the Americans were quickly overtaken and entirely defeated by general Frazer; and their remaining naval force, which had rendeſvouſed at Skeneſborough, was deſtroyed by general Burgoyne. The fugitive Americans retreated with the utmoſt precipitation to Fort Edward, on the north of Hudſon's River, where general Schuyler, commander in chief of the American northern army, had fixed his head quarters.

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[*] Such was the ſanguine and ſavage ſpirit which breathed throughout this infamous proclamation, unparalleled except in ONE very recent inſtance, that the following lines from Shakeſpeare's Timon of Athens were not unhappily applied to it as a kind of comment or paraphraſe :

——————Let not thy ſword ſkip one.
Pity not honored age for his white beard.
Strike me the matron—Let not the virgin's cheek
Make ſoft thy trenchant ſword——Spare not the babe
Whoſe dimpled ſmiles from fools exhauſt their mercy:
Mince it without remorſe.

The Britiſh army, highly elated at the rapid ſeries of ſucceſſes which had hitherto attended them, now exerted indefatigable induſtry in clearing the Wood Creek, which is a continuation of Lake Champlain, from the obſtacles which impeded the paſſage of the batteaux; and in conveying gunboats, proviſion-veſſels, and batteaux, over land into Lake George. From Fort Anne, at the extremity of the Wood Creek, where the batteaux-navigation ends, to Fort Edward, a diſtance ſcarcely exceeding twenty miles, the difficulties attending the march of the army were inconceivably great. In this ſhort ſpace they had no leſs than forty bridges to conſtruct, one of which was over a moraſs two miles in extent, and the roads were every where obſtructed by large timber trees laid acroſs with their branches interwoven. The heavy train of artillery which accompanied the army was alſo found a great incumbrance, and it was not without infinite labor and perſeverance that on the 20th of July general Burgoyne fixed his head-quarters at Fort Edward—the Americans having now retired to Saratoga. The joy with which the ſight of the North River, ſo long the object of their hopes and wiſhes, inſpired the army, ſeemed to be conſidered as an ample compenſation for all their labors; and with unremitted ardor they now bent all their efforts to bring forward proviſions and ſtores from Fort George, at the extremity of the lake of that name, ſufficient to form a magazine for the ſubſiſtence of the troops in their march through the wild and uncultivated country they had yet to traverſe. So ineffectual, however, were their utmoſt exertions, that on the 15th of Auguſt they had only four days proviſion in ſtore; and the general underſtanding that a large magazine was collected at Bennington, twenty miles to the eaſtward of Hudſon's River, for the uſe of the enemy, he detached colonel Baum at the head of about five hundred men to ſurpriſe the place: at the ſame time moving with the whole army up the eaſtern ſhore of Hudſon's River, he encamped nearly oppoſite to Saratoga. The colonel finding his deſtination diſcovered, and his force wholly inſufficient to the purpoſe, took poſt at a ſmall diſtance from Bennington, whence he communicated intelligence of his ſituation to general Burgoyne, who diſpatched colonel Breyman with about an equal force to his aſſiſtance. The Provincial general, Starke, who commanded the militia of the diſtrict, determined however to loſe no time in attacking the firſt party before any reinforcement ſhould arrive; and the Provincials ſurrounding on every ſide the ſmall corps of colonel Baum, forced their entrenchments, made themſelves maſters of their cannon; and after a brave reſiſtance, in which many were killed or wounded, the reſt ſurrendered themſelves priſoners. Colonel Breyman, who had no ſuſpicion of this event, arrived nearly at the ſame ſpot on the evening of the ſame day, and was attacked with the ſame reſolution, and with much difficulty effected his retreat, with the loſs of his artillery, and with ranks dreadfully diminiſhed. This was a heavy and unlooked-for ſtroke. In the mean time colonel St. Leger, who commanded a ſeparate corps on the Mohawk River, and had, in conjunction with colonel Johnſon and a great body of Indians, who committed their accuſtomed horrid ravages, inveſted Fort Stanwix, was compelled by the governor, colonel Ganſevort, to raiſe the ſiege, leaving behind him his artillery and ſtores.

At this period general Gates was appointed to ſuperſede general Schuyler in the command of the northern army; and the ſpirits of the provincials being much raiſed by their late ſucceſſes and the long inaction of general Burgoyne, a formidable and increaſing army was collected in the vicinity of Still Water, on the weſtern bank of Hudſon's River, ſome miles to the ſouthward of Saratoga. Notwithſtanding the preſent unpromiſing proſpect, general Burgoyne, having now about thirty days proviſion in ſtore, reſolved, without calling any council of war, to paſs the river, which he effected about the middle of September, and encamped on the heights of Saratoga, the enemy not receding from their poſition at Still Water. In his public diſpatches, the general offers the following very extraordinary reaſons for this determination: "The peremptory tenor of his orders, and the ſeaſon of the year, admitted no alternative. The expedition, ſays he, which I commanded, was evidently meant at firſt to be *hazarded*—circumſtances might require it ſhould be *devoted*. A critical junction of *Mr.* Gates's force with *Mr.* Waſhington might poſſibly decide the fate of the war; the failure of my junction with Sir Henry Clinton, or the loſs of my retreat to Canada, could be only a partial misfortune." Notwithſtanding this ingenious apology, it is probable that the idea of *devoting* his own army, in order to ſave that of Sir William Howe, did not occur to general Burgoyne, till, by a ſeries of unlooked-for diſaſters, it was actually and irretrievably *devoted*; nor is there juſt ground for the aſſertion, that it was meant to be *hazarded* in any peculiar or unuſual ſenſe. So ſanguine in fact were the ideas of the court of St. James's, that the poſſibility of a failure was ſcarcely within the compaſs of their contemplation.

As the army advanced along the weſtern bank of the river, towards the enemy, they found the country very impracticable, being covered with thick woods, and interſected with creeks, which made a continual repair of bridges neceſſary. At length, on the 19th of September, they were attacked with unexpected vigor by the Americans: the action laſted from noon till ſun-ſet, when the royal army were left in poſſeſſion of the field. This was the ſole advantage they could boaſt, nor could any difference be diſcerned in the behavior of the Provincial militia and the veteran troops of Britain, on this hard and well-fought day. The royal army lay all night on their arms in the field of battle, and in the morning they took a poſition in front of the enemy's camp, fortifying their right wing, and extending their left to the banks of the river. At this criſis, general Burgoyne received a letter in cipher from general Clinton, informing him of his deſign to make a diverſion in his favor; by an expedition up the North River, which, though far ſhort of the aid he had once expected, he in reply urged general Clinton to the immediate performance of; declaring his intention, in hope of favorable events, to remain in his preſent poſition till the 12th of October.

Early in the month, general Clinton, at the head of about 4000 troops, proceeded up the North River to Forts Montgomery and Conſtitution, which they reduced. They afterwards broke an immenſe boom and chain extending from ſhore to ſhore, and burnt ſeveral ſhips and armed veſſels lying in the river; without any apparent provocation or neceſſity, alſo deſtroying many delightful and elegant manſions on its banks, with the whole of the beautiful village of Eſopus. It was now unqueſtionably in their power to have proceeded without interruption to Albany; but the loſs they had ſuſtained in the midſt of their ſucceſſes, and the apprehenſion that their communication with New York would be in the end cut off, probably induced general Clinton to return, and the northern army was left to its fate. A conſiderable provincial force had now formed in the rear of general Burgoyne, and, making themſelves maſters of the poſts on Lake George, effectually obſtructed any ſupplies of proviſion or ſtores from that quarter.

In the beginning of October, the Engliſh general thought it neceſſary to leſſen the rations of the ſoldiers. On the 7th of that month, a detachment of 1500 men, conducted by the general in perſon, made a movement to the right, in order to diſcover if there were any poſſible means of forcing a paſſage. In the mean time the Americans, perceiving the lines weakened by this movement, fell with the utmoſt fury upon the left and centre of the Britiſh army, which, being totally overpowered by numbers, were compelled to retire within their lines: they had ſcarcely entered them, when the Americans, purſuing with eagerneſs their ſucceſs, ſtormed them in different parts with uncommon fierceneſs, under a heavy fire of artillery, grape ſhot, and muſquetry. General Arnold, who commanded the attack, and performed prodigies of valor, being grievouſly wounded, was obliged to retire; and night at length put an end to the engagement, not however before the German entrenchments had been carried ſword in hand, and a lodgement made which left every other quarter dangerouſly expoſed. It was therefore judged abſolutely neceſſary to take a new poſition; and, amidſt the darkneſs and horrors of this fatal night, the whole army retreated in deep and ſilent ſadneſs to the heights in the rear of their former encampment.

On the next day the general continued his retreat to Saratoga, where, on his arrival, he found the paſſes already occupied in force by the enemy. The farther ſhores of the river were alſo lined with numerous detachments of troops, which, with the aſſiſtance of their batteaux, entirely commanded the navigation; and no hope now remained but in a rapid nocturnal march to Fort Edward, abandoning their artillery and baggage. But while preparations were making for this purpoſe, intelligence was received, that the enemy were ſtrongly entrenched oppoſite the fords at Fort Edward, and that the high grounds between Fort Edward and Fort George were alſo every where ſecured and fortified. The attempt was therefore conſidered as hopeleſs and deſperate; and three days ſubſiſtence only remaining in the camp, the dreadful neceſſity became apparent, of propoſing to general

Gates terms of capitulation. After a ſhort negotiation, a CONVENTION was concluded, by which it was agreed, that the Britiſh army ſhould march out of the camp with the honors of war, and then lay down their arms; and be allowed a free embarkation from Boſton to Europe, upon condition of their not ſerving again in America during the preſent war. Upon this ever memorable occaſion, the generoſity of the American commander would not ſuffer an individual to leave the camp to witneſs the degrading ſpectacle of piling the Britiſh arms. Such was the melancholy cataſtrophe of an army conſiſting, at its departure from Canada, of above 10,000 men, but now reduced by the ſword, by famine, hardſhips, and diſeaſe, to little more than half the original number*. The whole plan of this campaign was, as might reaſonably be ſuppoſed from its diſaſtrous concluſion, moſt ſeverely cenſured. A co-operation of the two principal armies under the generals Howe and Burgoyne had been univerſally expected; and ſo firmly perſuaded was general Waſhington that a junction between them was in contemplation, that when the Britiſh army at New York had actually embarked on the expedition to the Cheſapeak, the American general long perſiſted in his opinion that the fleet was deſtined to the northward.

On the 30th of July he wrote from Coriel's Ferry, on the Delawar: "Howe's in a manner abandoning Burgoyne is ſo unaccountable a matter, that till I am fully aſſured it is ſo, I cannot help caſting my eyes continually behind me." When the Engliſh fleet, after touching at the Capes of Delawar,

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* The cataſtrophe of Saratoga will recall to the recollection of the claſſical reader the fate of the Roman army under Aulus in the Jugurthine war, as deſcribed by the pictureſque and majeſtic pencil of SALLUST. "Milites ex hibernis in expeditionem Aulus evocat—hieme aſperâ pervenit ad oppidum Suthul. Jugurtha, cognitâ vanitate atque imperitiâ legati, ipſe per ſaltuoſa loca et tramites exercitum ductare——intempeſtivâ nocte de improviſo multitudine Numidarum Auli caſtra circumvenit. Milites Romani perculſi tumultu inſolito, arma capere alii, alii ſe abdere, trepidare——cœlum nocte atque nubibus obſcuratum——periculum anceps. Dein Jugurtha poſtero die cum Aulo in colloquio verba facit, incolumis omnis ſub jugum miſſurum, uti diebus decem Numidiâ decederet."

lawar, again ſtood out to ſea, general Waſhington ſtill writes under the influence of the perſuaſion: "It appears," ſays he, "that general Howe has been practiſing a deep feint to draw our whole force to this point. Countermarch your diviſion, and proceed with all poſſible expedition to Peek's-kill." Again, Auguſt 3: "The conduct of the enemy is difficult and diſtreſſing to be underſtood;" and not till the latter end of the month was the doubt entirely removed. "The Engliſh fleet," ſays he (Auguſt 22), "have entered the Cheſapeak; there is not now the leaſt danger of Howe's going to New England." It does not however appear, that this co-operation was at any time in the contemplation of Sir William Howe; and the firſt intimation that any ſupport whatever would be expected from him in favor of the northern expedition, was contained in a letter of lord George Germaine, received by Sir William Howe when actually in the bay of Cheſapeak, in which he ſays, "I truſt that, whatever you meditate, it will be executed in time to co-operate with the army ordered to proceed from Canada." The American miniſter, as well as the governor of Canada, had been apprized of general Howe's intended march to the Delawar; and could lord George Germaine poſſibly imagine, that the purpoſes of the ſouthern expedition could be anſwered, and general Howe be able to return in proper time to co-operate with general Burgoyne in the northern? The truth is, that no traces are diſcernible of any regular plan for the conduct of the campaign, or of any grand or maſterly co-operation of means for the attainment of any preciſe or determinate object. Vague and general hopes were entertained, that the army under general Burgoyne, with ſuch aid as he might eventually derive from the central force at New York, would ſuffice for the ſubjugation of the northern provinces, and that general Howe would in the mean time accompliſh the conqueſt of the ſouthern. Such were the flattering deluſions which, at the diſtance of 3000 miles, paſſed at the court of St. James's for ſober and rational expectancies; and in the annals of hiſtory, Minden and Saratoga will ever remain incontrovertible proofs, that lord George Germaine was as *great* in the cabinet, as lord George Sackville had been in the field.

On the 20th of November 1777, the parliament aſſembled. Previous to this period, the exultation of the court, on the intelligence of the firſt ſucceſſes of general Burgoyne, had ſuffered a ſudden and grievous check by the laſt diſpatches of that commander, written after the defeat of the detachments of Baum and Breyman, when the tide of fortune was evidently ſetting ſtrong againſt him. The royal ſpeech, however, diſcovered no ſymptoms of dejection; no relentings, no forebodings. His majeſty expreſſed his "confidence, that the ſpirit and intrepidity of his forces would be attended with important ſucceſs; but intimated the neceſſity of preparing for ſuch farther operations as the contingencies of the war and the OBSTINACY OF THE REBELS might render expedient. He expreſſed his determination *ſteadily to purſue* the meaſures in which they were engaged, and his hope that the DELUDED AND UNHAPPY MULTITUDE would finally return to their allegiance."—In the houſe of commons, the addreſs, which was moved by lord Hyde, was oppoſed by the marquis of Granby, who brought forward an amendment, in ſubſtance recommending to his majeſty meaſures of accommodation, and an immediate ceſſation of hoſtilities, as neceſſary for effectuating ſo deſirable a purpoſe. This, after a long and vehement diſcuſſion, was rejected by a majority of 243 to 86. But the debate in the upper houſe was rendered peculiarly intereſting by the preſence of lord Chatham, who himſelf moved an amendment of ſimilar import to that of lord Granby, which he ſupported with all that energy and eloquence which had formerly produced ſuch mighty effects, and which muſt now have rouſed the nation from its death-like torpor, had this been within the compaſs of human virtue or human ability. He ſaid, "It had been uſual on ſimilar occaſions of public difficulty and diſtreſs, for the crown to make application to that houſe, the great hereditary council of the nation, for advice and aſſiſtance. As it is the right of parliament to give, ſo it is the duty of the crown to aſk it. But, on this day, and in this extreme momentous exigency, no reliance is repoſed on your councils, no advice is aſked of parliament; but the crown, from itſelf, and by itſelf, declares an unalterable determination to purſue its own preconcerted meaſures;—and what meaſures, my lords? meaſures which have produced hitherto nothing but diſappointments and defeats. I CANNOT, my lords, I WILL NOT join in congratulation on misfortune and diſgrace. This, my lords, is a perilous and tremendous moment; it is not a time for adulation; the ſmoothneſs of flattery cannot ſave us in this rugged and awful criſis. It is now neceſſary to inſtruct the throne in the language of TRUTH. We muſt, if poſſible, diſpel the deluſion and darkneſs which envelop it; and diſplay in its full danger, and genuine colors, the ruin which is brought to our doors. Can miniſters ſtill preſume to expect ſupport in their infatuation? Can parliament be ſo dead to its dignity and duty as to give their ſupport to meaſures thus obtruded and forced upon them? meaſures, my lords, which have reduced this late flouriſhing empire to ſcorn and contempt! "But yeſterday, and England might have ſtood againſt the world; NOW, none ſo poor to do her reverence." The people whom we at firſt deſpiſed as *rebels*, but whom we now acknowledge as *enemies*, are abetted againſt you, ſupplied with every military ſtore, their intereſts conſulted, and their ambaſſadors entertained by your inveterate enemy—and our miniſters do not, and dare not interpoſe with dignity or effect. The deſperate ſtate of our army abroad is in part known. No man more highly eſteems and honors the Engliſh troops than I do: I know their virtues and their valor; I know they can achieve any thing except impoſſibilities; and I know that the conqueſt of Engliſh America is an impoſſibility. You CANNOT, my lords, you CANNOT conquer America. What is your preſent ſituation there? *We do not know the worſt*: but we know that in three campaigns we have done nothing, and ſuffered much. You may ſwell every expence, and ſtrain every effort, accumulate every aſſiſtance, and extend your traffic to the *ſhambles* of every German deſpot, your attempts will be for ever vain and impotent—doubly ſo, indeed, from this mercenary aid, on which you rely; for it irritates to an incurable reſentment the minds of your adverſaries to over-run them with the mercenary ſons of rapine and plunder, devoting them and their poſſeſſions to the rapacity of hireling cruelty. If I were an American, as I am an Engliſhman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms—NEVER, NEVER, NEVER! But, my lords, who is the man that, in addition to the diſgraces and miſchiefs of war, has dared to authorize and aſſociate to our arms the *tomahawk* and *ſcalping-knife* of the ſavage?—to call into civiliſed alliance the wild and inhuman inhabitant of the woods?—to delegate to the mercileſs Indian the defence of diſputed rights, and to wage the horrors of this barbarous war againſt our brethren? My lords, theſe enormities cry aloud for redreſs and puniſhment. Familiarized to the horrid ſcenes of ſavage cruelty, our army can no longer boaſt of the noble and generous principles which dignify a ſoldier. No longer are their feelings awake to the 'pride, pomp, and circumſtance of GLORIOUS war;'—but the ſenſe of honor is degraded into a vile ſpirit of plunder, and the ſyſtematic practice of murder. From the antient connection between Great Britain and her colonies, both parties derived the moſt important advantage. While the ſhield of our protection was extended over America, ſhe was the fountain of our wealth, the nerve of our ſtrength, the baſis of our power. It is not, my lords, a wild and lawleſs banditti whom we oppoſe: the reſiſtance of America is the ſtruggle of free and virtuous patriots. Let us then ſeize with eagerneſs the preſent moment of reconciliation. America has not yet finally given herſelf up to France: there yet remains a poſſibility of eſcape from the fatal effect of our deluſions. In this complicated criſis of danger, weakneſs, and calamity, terrified and inſulted by the neighboring powers, unable to act in America, or acting only to be deſtroyed, WHERE is the man who will venture to flatter us with the hope of ſucceſs from perſeverance in meaſures productive of theſe dire effects? WHO has the effrontery to attempt it? Where is that man? Let him, if he DARE, ſtand forward and ſhew his face. You cannot conciliate America by your preſent meaſures; you cannot ſubdue her by your preſent or any meaſures. What then can you do?—You cannot conquer, you cannot gain; but you can ADDRESS—you can lull the fears and anxieties of the moment into ignorance of the danger that ſhould produce them. I did hope, inſtead of that falſe and empty pride engendering high conceits and preſumptuous imaginations, that miniſters would have humbled themſelves in their errors—would have confeſſed and retracted them, and, by an active, though a late repentance, have endeavored to redeem them. But, my lords, ſince they have neither ſagacity to foreſee, nor juſtice nor humanity to ſhun thoſe calamities; ſince not even bitter experience can make them feel, nor the imminent ruin of their country awaken them from their ſtupefaction, the guardian care of parliament muſt interpoſe. I ſhall therefore, my lords, propoſe to you an amendment to the addreſs to his majeſty—To recommend an immediate ceſſation of hoſtilities, and the commencement of a treaty to reſtore peace and liberty to America, ſtrength and happineſs to England, ſecurity and permanent proſperity to both countries. This, my lords, is yet in our power, and let not the wiſdom and juſtice of your lordſhips neglect the happy and perhaps the only opportunity."

Lord Suffolk, ſecretary of ſtate, in the courſe of the debate contended for the employment of Indians in the war—"Beſides its policy and neceſſity," his lordſhip ſaid "that the meaſure was alſo allowable on *principle*, for that it was perfectly juſtifiable to uſe all the means that GOD and Nature had put into our hands."

This moving the indignation of lord Chatham, he ſuddenly roſe, and gave full vent to his feelings, in one of the moſt extraordinary burſts of eloquence that the pen of hiſtory has recorded: "I am aſtoniſhed," exclaimed his lordſhip, "SHOCKED to hear ſuch principles confeſſed; to hear them avowed in this houſe, or even in this country. My lords, I did not intend to have encroached again on your attention, but I cannot repreſs my indignation—I feel myſelf IMPELLED to ſpeak. My lords, we are called upon as members of this houſe, as men, as chriſtians, to proteſt againſt ſuch horrible barbarity.—That GOD and nature put into our hands! What ideas of GOD and nature that noble lord may entertain I know not—but I know that ſuch deteſtable principles are equally abhorrent to religion and humanity. What! to attribute the ſacred ſanction of GOD and nature to the maſſacres of the Indian ſcalping-knife!—to the cannibal-ſavage torturing, murdering, devouring, drinking the blood of his mangled victims! Such notions ſhock every precept of morality, every feeling of humanity, every ſentiment of honor. Theſe abominable principles, and this more abominable avowal of them, demand the moſt deciſive indignation. I call upon that right reverend and this moſt learned bench to vindicate the religion of their GOD, to ſupport the juſtice of their country. I call upon the biſhops, to interpoſe the unſullied ſanctity of their lawn—upon the judges, to interpoſe the purity of their ermine to ſave us from this pollution. I call upon the honor of your lordſhips, to reverence the dignity of your anceſtors, and to maintain your own. I call upon the ſpirit and humanity of my country, to vindicate the national character. I invoke the GENIUS of the CONSTITUTION! From the tapeſtry that adorns theſe walls the immortal anceſtor of this noble lord frowns with indignation at the diſgrace of his country. In vain did he defend the liberty and eſtabliſh the religion of Britain againſt the tyranny of Rome, if theſe worſe than popiſh cruelties and inquiſitorial practices are endured among us. To ſend forth the mercileſs cannibal thirſting for blood!—againſt whom?—Your proteſtant brethren——to lay waſte their country, to deſolate their dwellings, and extirpate their race and name by the aid and inſtrumentality of theſe horrible HELL-HOUNDS of WAR! Spain can no longer boaſt pre-eminence in barbarity. She armed herſelf with blood-hounds to extirpate the wretched natives of Mexico; but we, more ruthleſs, looſe theſe DOGS of WAR againſt our countrymen in America, endeared to us by every tie that ſhould ſanctify humanity. My lords, I ſolemnly call upon your lordſhips, and upon every order of men in the ſtate, to ſtamp upon this infamous procedure the indelible ſtigma of the public abhorrence. More particularly I call upon the holy prelates of our religion to do away this iniquity; let them perform a luſtration to purify their country from this deep and deadly ſin. My lords, I am old and weak, and at preſent unable to ſay more, but my feelings and indignation were too ſtrong to have ſaid leſs. I could not have ſlept this night in my bed, nor repoſed my head upon my pillow, without giving this vent to my eternal abhorrence of ſuch enormous and prepoſterous principles."

Although lord Chatham on this occaſion ſeemed, like ſome "great maſter of the powerful ſpell," to have uttered "thoſe thrilling accents that awake the dead," the event, as on former occaſions, proved that no impreſſion could be made on the temper and diſpoſition of the houſe, more cold and callous than alpine ſnows or monumental marble; for, on the diviſion, 28 lords only voted in ſupport of the motion, againſt 97 who oppoſed it.

On the 2d of December (1777) Mr. Fox moved for an enquiry into the ſtate of the nation, in which the miniſter profeſſed his cordial acquieſcence. Amongſt other papers which were thought neceſſary to elucidate the ſubſequent inveſtigation, Mr. Fox moved for returns of ſuch colonies or places as had in purſuance of the powers veſted in the commiſſioners been declared at the king's peace, or copies of ſuch papers as had relation thereto. This motion the miniſter vehemently oppoſed, and declared he neither could nor would conſent to make diſcoveries inconſiſtent with ſound wiſdom and policy, and prejudicial to the real intereſts of the country.

During the heat of the debate intelligence was brought, that, in conſequence of a motion of the duke of Grafton, theſe very papers had been actually laid upon the table of the other houſe; but the miniſter, as if to try how far the obſequiouſneſs of the houſe would extend, ſtill perſiſted in his refuſal, and maintained "that the houſe of commons were not to be guided in their determinations by any extrinſic conſideration;" and on a diviſion, incredible as it may ſeem, the motion was actually negatived by a majority of 178 to 89. An act by which the dignity of the houſe was more wantonly ſacrificed by miniſterial caprice and inſolence, it would be moſt aſſuredly impoſſible to find on the records of parliament.

The ſucceeding day was rendered for ever memorable by the diſcloſure of the melancholy cataſtrophe at Saratoga. The American ſecretary being called upon to declare the purport of the diſpatches recently received from Canada, with ſhame and reluctance communicated the intelligence of that fatal event. This was followed by a long and profound ſilence, and one general ſentiment of amazement and conſternation ſeemed to pervade the houſe. At length a torrent of invective, accompanied by taunts the moſt bitter and ſarcaſtic, were poured out by the leaders of the oppoſition againſt the miniſters, whoſe pride, ignorance, and incapacity had occaſioned a more ſignal diſgrace and calamity than had ever before in the moſt diſaſtrous war befallen the Britiſh arms. The time did not ſerve for bold and lofty language on the part of miniſters. Lord North, with much apparent dejection, and even tears—the "iron tears" of diſappointed pride and fallen ambition—acknowledged "that he had indeed been unfortunate, but that his intentions were ever juſt and upright; that he had originally been in a manner forced into an office which he would moſt willingly and gladly reſign, could his reſignation facilitate the obtaining that peace and reconciliation for which he had ever earneſtly wiſhed." The American miniſter alſo profeſſed, in terms of humiliation, "that he ſhould be ever ready to ſubmit his conduct to the judgment of that houſe; hoping, nevertheleſs, that the houſe would ſuſpend their cenſures relative to the late unhappy event, till an impartial inveſtigation both of the plan and the execution of it had taken place."

On the 5th of December (1777) lord Chatham, in conſequence of the late intelligence from America, attended the houſe of peers, and moved, "that an addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, to cauſe the proper officers to lay before the houſe copies of all orders and inſtructions to general Burgoyne relative to the late expedition from Canada." Holding up a paper in view of the houſe, his lordſhip ſaid, "that he had the king's ſpeech in his hand, and a deep ſenſe of the public calamity in his heart. That ſpeech, he ſaid, contained a moſt unfaithful picture of the ſtate of public affairs; it had a ſpecious outſide, was full of hopes, while every thing within was full of danger. A ſyſtem deſtructive of all faith and confidence had been introduced, his lordſhip affirmed, within the laſt fifteen years at St. James's, by which pliable men, not capable men, had been raiſed to the higheſt poſts of government. A few obſcure perſons had obtained an aſcendency, where no man ſhould have a perſonal aſcendency, and by the moſt inſidious means the nation had been betrayed into a war of which they now reaped the bitter fruits. The SPIRIT of DELUSION, his lordſhip ſaid, had gone forth; miniſters had impoſed on the people; parliament had been induced to ſanctify the impoſition; a viſionary phantom of revenue had been conjured up for the baſeſt of purpoſes, but it was now for ever vaniſhed. His lordſhip ſaid, that the abilities of general Burgoyne were confeſſed, his perſonal bravery not ſurpaſſed, his zeal in the ſervice unqueſtionable. He had experienced no peſtilence, nor ſuffered any of the accidents which ſometimes ſuperſede the wiſeſt and moſt ſpirited exertions of human induſtry. What then is the cauſe of his misfortune?—Want of wiſdom in our councils, want of ability in our miniſters. His lordſhip ſaid, the plan of penetrating into the colonies from Canada was a moſt wild, uncombined, and mad project; and the mode of carrying on the war was the moſt bloody, barbarous, and ferocious recorded in the annals of hiſtory. The arms of Britain had been ſullied and tarniſhed by blending the ſcalping-knife and tomahawk with the ſword and firelock. Such a mode of warfare was a contamination which all the waters of the Hudſon and the Delawar would never waſh away. It was impoſſible for America to forget or forgive ſo horrid an injury."

In the courſe of his ſpeech he animadverted in the ſevereſt terms on the language recently held by a moſt reverend prelate, the archbiſhop of York, both in print and in that houſe. "The pernicious doctrines advanced by that prelate were, he ſaid, the doctrines of Atterbury and Sacheverel. As a WHIG he abjured and deteſted them; and he hoped he ſhould yet ſee the day when they would be deemed libellous, and treated as ſuch." The motion being negatived, his lordſhip next moved an addreſs to the king, "that all orders and treaties relative to the employment of the Indian ſavages be laid before the houſe."

Lord Gower roſe, and, with all that acrimony by which his ſpeeches were uſually diſtinguiſhed, oppoſed and reprobated the motion, aſſerting, "that the noble lord had himſelf employed ſavages without ſcruple in the operations of the laſt war." This charge lord Chatham poſitively and peremptorily denied, and challenged the miniſters, if any ſuch inſtruction of his were to be found, to produce them.

If at all employed, they had crept into the ſervice from the occaſional utility of their aſſiſtance in unexplored parts of the country. He ſaid, " the late king George II. had too much regard for the military dignity of his people, and alſo too much HUMANITY, to agree to ſuch a propoſal had it been made to him, and he called upon lord Amherſt to declare the truth." Lord Amherſt, not able to evade this appeal, reluctantly owned that Indians had been employed on both ſides—the French employed them firſt, he ſaid, and we followed their example; but that he had been authorized to take them into his majeſty's ſervice by inſtructions from the miniſter, his lordſhip would not affirm. The motion was diſmiſſed by the previous queſtion.

The two houſes in a few days after this determined upon an adjournment to the 20th of January 1778, notwithſtanding an animated reſiſtance on the part of the oppoſition, who demonſtrated the impolicy at ſo critical a juncture of indulging in ſo long a receſs. Lord Chatham on this occaſion declared, " that it was with grief and aſtoniſhment he heard a propoſal made of a nature ſo extraordinary at a criſis ſo urgent; when," ſaid he, " my lords, I will be bold to ſay, events of a moſt alarming tendency, little expected or foreſeen, will ſhortly happen. Miniſters flatter themſelves, whenever the worſt comes, that they ſhall be able to ſhelter themſelves behind the authority of parliament; but this, my lords, cannot be. They ſtand COMMITTED, and they muſt ABIDE the ISSUE. The DAY of RETRIBUTION is at hand, when the VENGEANCE of a much injured people will, I truſt, FALL HEAVILY on the AUTHORS of their RUIN."

During the receſs, the ſpirits of the miniſtry, which had ſunk to ſo low an ebb, ſeemed to revive; and the powerful faction of the Tories, which had of late years acquired ſuch an aſcendency under the patronage of the court, being if poſſible more than ever eager for the ſubjugation of America, large offers were made from different places for raiſing new regiments to ſupply the late heavy loſs; and a determination was taken to proſecute the war with redoubled force and vigor.

On an early day after the receſs, the houſe of commons, in conſequence of a motion previouſly made by Mr. Fox, reſolved itſelf into a committee on the ſtate of the nation; and, in a moſt able and comprehenſive ſpeech, Mr. Fox entered at great length into a retroſpective view of the whole conduct of the preſent adminiſtration reſpecting America, including as well the meaſures which led to the war, as the manner in which it had been proſecuted. He laid it down as an incontrovertible axiom, "that it was impoſſible for any country to fall within ſo few years from the high pitch of power and glory which we had done, without ſome radical error in its government. The preſent calamitous ſtate of the nation was evidently to be traced to the blind obſtinacy and wretched incapacity of its miniſters, who would not liſten to any overtures of conciliation, who could not carry into effect any plan of coercion. He made it appear from the papers before them, that at a time when we were in immediate danger of encountering the whole force of the houſe of Bourbon, united with that of America, the army in England and Ireland had been ſo reduced and weakened by the continual drain of the war, as to fall ſeveral thouſand men ſhort of the uſual peace eſtabliſhment. To abandon the miniſterial plan of conqueſt was therefore a matter not of choice but neceſſity, when the force employed in America was ſo much diminiſhed in conſequence of the late diſaſtrous events, and when it was incapable of being reinforced without leaving this country abſolutely without defence. Upon this ground Mr. Fox moved as a reſolution of the committee, "that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, beſeeching his majeſty that no part of the national force in theſe kingdoms, or in the garriſons of Gibraltar or Minorca, ſhould be ſent to America." To the infinite ſurpriſe of the public, no debate enſued, nor was any reply whatever made to this ſpeech; but the queſtion being called for, the motion was rejected on a diviſion by a majority of 256 to 165, the largeſt minority that had yet appeared in this parliament in oppoſition to the miniſtry.

In a few days after this Mr. Burke moved for the papers relative to the employment of the Indians, and in a ſpeech diſtinguiſhed by that characteriſtic glow and warmth of coloring, which in this inſtance did as much credit to the judgment as the imagination of the ſpeaker, he reprobated the meaſure as replete with diſgrace and infamy. "The Indian mode of making war," he ſaid, "was ſo horrible as not only to ſhock the manners of all civilized nations, but far to exceed the ferocity of any other barbarians recorded in antient or modern hiſtory. Their chief glory conſiſted in the number of human ſcalps which they acquired, and their chief delight was in the practice of torturing, mangling, roaſting, and devouring their captives. The attempt to prevent theſe enormities was wholly unavailing. Thoſe Indians employed both by general Burgoyne and colonel St. Leger had indiſcriminately murdered men, women, and children—friends and foes—armed or unarmed, without diſtinction. The horrid murder of Miſs Macrae on the morning of her intended marriage with an officer of the king's troops, and the maſſacre in cold blood of the priſoners taken in an engagement near Fort Stanwix, were particularly inſtanced as proofs of the abſolute impracticability of reſtraining the barbarities of theſe ſavages." After a long debate Mr. Burke's motion was negatived by a majority of 223 to 137.

Various other motions made by Mr. Fox, colonel Barré, and Mr. Burke, in the committee of enquiry, being alſo rejected, the miniſter gave notice that he had digeſted a plan of conciliation, which he meant ſhortly to lay before the houſe. Accordingly, on the 17th of February 1778, lord North moved for leave to bring in—"1. A bill for removing all doubts and apprehenſions concerning taxation by the parliament of Great Britain in any of the colonies and plantations in North America; and 2. A bill to enable his majeſty to appoint commiſſioners, with ſufficient powers to treat, conſult, and agree upon means of quieting the *diſorders* now ſubſiſting in certain of the colonies in America."

His lordſhip in opening his plan acknowledged, " that he had always known that American taxation could never produce a beneficial revenue—that it was not his policy to tax them, but that he had found them taxed when he unfortunately came into adminiſtration—and that he could not poſſibly ſuſpect the regulation he had introduced in relation to the tea-duty, could have been productive of ſuch fatal conſequences. With reſpect to the coercive acts, his lordſhip ſaid, they had appeared neceſſary to remedy the diſtempers of the time; he complained, that the events of the war had turned out very different from what he had a right to expect from the great and well-appointed force ſent over, but to events and not expectations he muſt make his plan conform. His lordſhip ſaid, that the appointment of five commiſſioners was in contemplation, who ſhould be enabled to treat with the congreſs *as if it were a legal body*; or with any individuals in their preſent civil capacities, or military commands;—that they ſhould have a power to order a ſuſpenſion of arms, to ſuſpend the operation of all laws, and to grant all ſorts of pardons. A preliminary renunciation of independency would not be required of America, and a contribution in any ſhape from America was not to be inſiſted upon as a *ſine qua non* of the treaty. Theſe conceſſions his lordſhip declared to be founded on reaſon and propriety; and if the queſtion was aſked, why they had not been ſooner propoſed, he ſhould reply, that the moment of victory, for which he had anxiouſly waited, ſeemed to him the only proper ſeaſon for offering terms of conceſſion. But though the reſult of the war had proved unfavorable, he would no longer delay the deſirable and neceſſary work of reconciliation."

Never, perhaps, was the inexpreſſible abſurdity of the miniſterial ſyſtem more apparent than at the preſent moment. The powers now granted were preciſely of the nature of thoſe with which it was the object of the motion made by the duke of Grafton, in the ſpring of 1776, to inveſt the former commiſſioners, lord and general Howe. Had that motion been adopted, the conteſt might unqueſtionably have been, with the utmoſt facility, amicably and honorably terminated; but the general aſpect of affairs ſince that period was totally changed. From the declaration of independency which America had once made, ſhe could never be expected to recede. The ſtrength of Great Britain had been tried, and found unequal to the conteſt. The meaſures adopted by the Engliſh government, particularly in the employment of German mercenaries and Indian ſavages, had inflamed the reſentment of America to the higheſt pitch. Her recent ſucceſſes had rendered it to the laſt degree improbable that ſhe would ever again conſent to recogniſe, in any ſhape, or under any modification, the authority of Britain. A treaty of peace, commerce, and alliance was all that a juſt and ſound policy, in the preſent circumſtances, could hope, or would endeavor to accompliſh.

The propoſitions of the miniſter were received by the houſe without any ſymptoms of applauſe; on the contrary, they were aſſailed by objections from all quarters. The high-prerogative party lamented the degradation which the bills would bring upon the government of this country. They inſiſted that our reſources were great and inexhauſtible; and they bitterly deplored that puſillanimity in our councils, which, after ſo great an expence of blood and treaſure, could ſubmit, not only to give up all the objects of the conteſt, but to enter into a public treaty with *armed rebels*, which, after all, would not produce the end propoſed.

The oppoſition, uſually ſo called, expreſſed their reluctant agreement in the probable truth of this prediction. The chances, in point of calculation, were infinitely againſt the ſucceſs of the meaſure; but ſtill there was a chance—and they would not, in any manner, impede or delay the execution of a plan which had conciliation for its object. They were not, however, the leſs ſevere upon the defence ſet up by the miniſter.

Mr. Fox aſſerted, " that his lordſhip had attempted a juſtification of the moſt unjuſtifiable meaſures which had ever diſgraced any government or ruined any country. But his arguments might be collected into one point, his excuſes compriſed in one apology—in one ſingle word—IGNORANCE: a palpable and total ignorance of every part of the ſubject. He hoped, and he was diſappointed—he thought America would have ſubmitted to his laws, and they had reſiſted them—he thought they would have ſubmitted to his armies, and they had defeated them—he made conciliatory propoſitions, and he thought they would ſucceed, but they were rejected—he appointed commiſſioners to make peace, and he thought they had powers; but he found they could not make peace, and that they had not ſufficient powers. Had the preſent conceſſions been offered in time, Mr. Fox ſaid, they would undoubtedly have been ſucceſsful: for, however obſcure his former propoſitions of conciliation might be deemed, NECESSITY had at length compelled the noble lord to ſpeak plain. But what cenſure would be found ſufficient, he aſked, on thoſe miniſters who had adjourned parliament, in order to make a propoſition of conciliation, and then neglected to do it until France had concluded a treaty with the united and independent ſtates of America, and acknowledged them as ſuch? He did not ſpeak from ſurmiſe, he ſaid, he had it from authority he could not queſtion, that the treaty he mentioned had been ſigned in Paris ten days before; he therefore wiſhed that the noble lord would give the houſe ſatisfaction on that intereſting point." The miniſter, being cloſely preſſed, at length reluctantly acknowledged, " that it was but too probable ſuch a treaty was in agitation, though he had no authority to pronounce abſolutely that it was concluded:" and it was animadverted upon as a very extraordinary circumſtance, that the intelligence of a private member of that houſe ſhould be ſooner received, and more authentically aſcertained, than that of the government. The conciliatory bills were carried through both houſes early in March.

On the ſecond reading of the bills in the houſe of peers, the duke of Grafton informed their lordſhips, that he had, what he conceived to be, indubitable intelligence, that a treaty had been actually ſigned between France and America: and his grace demanded from the miniſters a public avowal or diſavowal of this important fact. To which lord Weymouth, ſecretary of ſtate, replied, " that he knew nothing of any ſuch treaty, nor had received any authentic information of its being either in exiſtence or contemplation." Nevertheleſs, within a very few days after this extraordinary declaration, lord North delivered a royal meſſage to the houſe of commons, and lord Weymouth to the houſe of peers, in which the king informed the two houſes, " that a reſcript had been delivered by the ambaſſador of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, containing a direct avowal of the treaty of amity, commerce, and alliance, recently concluded with America; in conſequence of which offenſive communication on the part of the court of France, his majeſty had ſent orders to his ambaſſador to withdraw from that court; and, relying on the zealous ſupport of his people, he is prepared to exert all the force and reſources of his kingdoms, to repel ſo unprovoked and unjuſt an aggreſſion." Addreſſes were voted by both houſes, containing the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of aſſiſtance and ſupport. An amendment moved by Mr. Baker, containing a ſevere reflection on the conduct of the miniſter, was previouſly rejected in the houſe of commons by 263 voices againſt 113.

A ſimilar amendment was moved in the upper houſe by the duke of Mancheſter, which gave riſe to a debate, chiefly intereſting as it brought into full view a very important difference of opinion ſubſiſting between the Lords in oppoſition, and which had on various occaſions more covertly appeared, reſpecting the recognition of American independence. The marquis of Rockingham, and the whole Rockingham connection, maintained without reſerve the neceſſity of admitting the independence of America. "To attempt impoſſibilities," ſaid they, can only render our ruin inevitable; it is not now in our power to recover what we have wantonly thrown away." On the other hand, the earls of Chatham, Temple, and Shelburne, and ſeveral other lords, who had unhappily eſtabliſhed a diſtinct connection, and were, throughout the long courſe of oppoſition to the preſent miniſtry, conſidered as a ſeparate party, diſclaimed every idea of relinquiſhing America, and deprecated its independence as the greateſt of all political and national evils; and as including the utter degradation and final ruin of this country. The numbers on the diviſion were, 100 lords who voted againſt the amendment, to 36 who ſupported it.

On the 7th of April, the duke of Richmond, at the cloſe of the grand committee of enquiry, in which the upper houſe as well as that of the commons had been during the greater part of the ſeſſion deeply engaged, moved an addreſs to the king on the ſtate of the Nation. In his ſpeech in ſupport of this addreſs, his grace declared in ſtrong terms his conviction of the neceſſity of an immediate recognition of American independence. "The miſchief, he ſaid, whatever might be the magnitude of it, was already done; America was already loſt; her independence was as firmly eſtabliſhed as that of other ſtates. We had ſufficient cauſe for regret, but our lamentation on the ſubject was of no more avail than it would be for the loſs of Normandy or France." The earl of Chatham, in full expectation that this point would come under diſcuſſion this day, reſolved, however enfeebled and afflicted by his corporeal infirmities, to make his perſonal appearance in the houſe, in order to bear his decided teſtimony againſt it. The mind feels intereſted in the minuteſt circumſtances relating to the laſt day of the public life of this renowned ſtateſman and patriot. He was dreſſed in a rich ſuit of black velvet, with a full wig, and covered up to the knees in flannel. On his arrival in the houſe, he refreſhed himſelf in the lord chancellor's room, where he ſtaid till prayers were over, and till he was informed that buſineſs was going to begin. He was then led into the houſe by his ſon and ſon-in-law Mr. William Pitt and lord viſcount Mahon, all the lords ſtanding up out of reſpect, and making a lane for him topaſs to the earls' bench, he bowing very gracefully to them as he proceeded. He looked pale and much emaciated, but his eye retained all its native fire; which joined to his general deportment, and the attention of the houſe, formed a ſpectacle very ſtriking and impreſſive.

When the duke of Richmond had ſat down, lord Chatham roſe, and began by lamenting "that his bodily infirmities had ſo long and at ſo important a criſis prevented his attendance on the duties of parliament. He declared, that he had made an effort almoſt beyond the powers of his conſtitution, to come down to the houſe on this day, perhaps the LAST time he ſhould ever be able to enter its walls, to expreſs the indignation he felt at the idea which he underſtood was gone forth of yielding up the ſovereignty of America. My lords," continued he, "I rejoice that the grave has not cloſed upon me, that I am ſtill alive to lift up my voice againſt the diſmemberment of this antient and noble monarchy. Preſſed down as I am by the load of infirmity, I am little able to aſſiſt my country in this moſt perilous conjuncture: but, my lords, while I have ſenſe and memory, I never will conſent to tarniſh the luſtre of this nation by an ignominious ſurrender of its rights and faireſt poſſeſſions. Shall a people ſo lately the terror of the world, now fall proſtrate before the houſe of Bourbon? It is impoſſible. I am not, I confeſs, well informed of the reſources of this kingdom, but I truſt it has ſtill ſufficient to maintain its juſt rights, though I know them not.—Any ſtate, my lords, is better than deſpair. Let us at leaſt make one effort—and, if we muſt fall, let us fall like men."

The duke of Richmond, in reply, declared himſelf to be "totally ignorant of the means by which we were to reſiſt with ſucceſs the combination of America with the houſe of Bourbon. He urged the noble lord to point out any poſſible mode, if he were able to do it, of making the Americans renounce that independence of which they were in poſſeſſion. His grace added, that if HE could not, no man could; and that it was not in his power to change his opinion on the noble lord's authority, unſupported by any reaſons, but a recital of the calamities ariſing from a ſtate of things not in the power of this country now to alter."

Lord Chatham, who had appeared greatly moved during the reply, made an eager effort to riſe at the concluſion of it, as if laboring with ſome great idea, and impatient to give full ſcope to his feelings; but, before he could utter a word, preſſing his hand on his boſom, he fell down ſuddenly in a convulſive fit. The duke of Cumberland, lord Temple, and other lords near him caught him in their arms. The houſe was immediately cleared; and his lordſhip being carried into an adjoining apartment, the debate was adjourned. Medical aſſiſtance being obtained, his lordſhip in ſome degree recovered, and was conveyed to his favorite villa of Hayes in Kent, where, after lingering ſome few weeks, he expired May 11th, 1778, in the 70th year of his age.

On the firſt intelligence of his death, colonel Barré repaired to the houſe of commons, then ſitting, and communicated the melancholy information. Although it was an event which had been for ſome time daily expected, the houſe ſeemed affected with the deepeſt ſenſibility, and ſorrow was apparent in every countenance. The recollection of his former pre-eminence in power, of his unrivalled eloquence, of his unwearied exertions in the public ſervice, and of the unexampled proſperity to which Great Britain had attained under his adminiſtration, ruſhed upon the mind with irreſiſtible force, and produced an emotion which the ſympathy ſo powerful in popular aſſemblies heightened to enthuſiaſm. The motion made by colonel Barré, "that the remains of the earl of Chatham be interred at the public expence," was unanimouſly adopted; with the farther addition, "that a monument be erected to his memory in the collegiate church of St. Peter, Weſtminſter." This was followed by a motion from lord John Cavendiſh, for an addreſs to the king, "that his majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to make a permanent proviſion for the family of the late WILLIAM PITT, earl of CHATHAM, in conſideration of the ſervices performed by that able ſtateſman;" and in the ſequel, a bill was brought into parliament, and unanimouſly paſſed, by which a clear annuity of 4000l. per annum, payable out of the civil liſt, is for ever to be annexed to the earldom of Chatham, and the ſum of 20,000l. voted for the diſcharge of debts and incumbrances. Thus nobly and gratefully did the nation reward the ſervices of the man, whoſe counſels, to the amazement of the world, ſhe had for ſo many years neglected and contemned. The ready concurrence of the court in the honors laviſhed on the memory of this great ſtateſman, may be aſcribed entirely to the decided manner in which he delivered, almoſt in his laſt breath, his ſentiments againſt the recognition of American Independence, and which may be regarded as the ſole political error, with which, in reſpect to America, he is chargeable. What his preciſe ideas were, with regard to the plan of conciliation proper to be adopted in the actual circumſtances of the nation, cannot be aſcertained; but of this we may reſt aſſured, from the uniform and ſyſtematic tenor of his policy, that he never would have employed coercive means in accompliſhing it. When he found, and had he been reſtored to the plenitude of power he certainly would have found, America determined to maintain her independency, he muſt doubtleſs have diſcovered, and could not but have ſubmitted to, the neceſſity of recognizing it. It is exceedingly to be lamented, that perſonal and party conſiderations prevented that firm and cordial coaleſcence amongſt the whigs in oppoſition to the court, which was ſo neceſſary to give efficacy to their exertions. The diſlike of lord Chatham to the Newcaſtle or Rockingham party was invincible; and the diviſions and animoſities which originated in that diſlike, and which his death was far from extinguiſhing, have at length terminated in what may be conſidered as the almoſt total ruin of the Whig intereſt, and the final and complete triumph of the tories; at leaſt till the calamities, which have never yet failed to reſult from a tory ſyſtem of government in this country, ſhall again awaken the dormant ſpirit of whiggiſm in the nation, and conſign the abſurd, pernicious, and deteſtable maxims of tory government to public contempt and execration. But when a juſt allowance is made, and juſt allowance muſt be made for thoſe imperfections from which no human character is exempt, lord Chatham will unqueſtionably rank as one of the greateſt, moſt enlightened, and beneficent ſtateſmen that ever adorned the annals of any age or country.

The diſtreſſes in which the kingdom of Ireland was involved in conſequence of the war, and the general and loud complaints of the bulk of its inhabitants, made it abſolutely neceſſary to attempt ſomething farther for its relief; and in a committee of the whole houſe it was reſolved,

I. That the Iriſh might be permitted to export directly to the Britiſh plantations or ſettlements all goods, wares, and merchandize, being the produce of that kingdom, or of Great Britain, wool and woollen manufactures only excepted; as alſo foreign certificate goods legally imported.

II. That a direct importation be allowed of all goods, wares, and merchandize, being the produce of the Britiſh plantations, tobacco only excepted.

III. That the direct exportation of glaſs manufactured in Ireland be permitted to all places except Great Britain.

IV. That the importation of cotton yarn the manufacture of Ireland be allowed, duty free, into Great Britain; as alſo,

V. The importation of ſail-cloth and cordage.

Theſe reſolutions excited a very great and general alarm amongſt the commercial part of the Britiſh nation, who ſeemed to conſider the admiſſion of Ireland to any participation in trade, as equally deſtructive to their property, and ſubverſive of their rights.

After the receſs, very many inſtructions and petitions were preſented to the houſe in oppoſition to them: and it deſerves mention, as a ſtriking inſtance of commercial folly and prejudice, that, in ſeveral of the petitions, the importation of Iriſh ſail-cloth and of wrought iron is particularly ſpecified as ruinous to the ſame manufactures in England; though it was by this time diſcovered, that, by a poſitive law of long ſtanding, Ireland was in actual poſſeſſion of thoſe very privileges, although the Iriſh were ſo far from being able to proſecute theſe manufactures to any purpoſe of competition with the Britiſh, that great quantities of both were annually exported to the country from England. An almoſt equally great and equally groundleſs alarm had been taken at the bill paſſed a few years ſince for the free importation of woollen yarn into England; which was by experience found and acknowledged to be not mere innocuous, but beneficial; yet ſuch influence had the apprehenſions of the public upon the diſpoſition of the houſe, that the bills founded on the reſolutions actually paſſed were ultimately diſmiſſed, and ſome trivial points only conceded, not meriting a diſtinct ſpecification.

Late in the ſeſſion, Sir George Saville moved for leave to bring in a bill for the repeal of certain penalties impoſed by an act paſſed in the 10th of king WILLIAM, entitled an act for preventing the farther growth of popery; which penalties the mover ſtated to be, the puniſhment of popiſh prieſts, or jeſuits, as guilty of felony, who ſhould be found to officiate in the ſervices of their church; the forfeiture of eſtate to the next proteſtant heir, in caſe of the education of the Romiſh poſſeſſor abroad; the power given to the ſon, or other neareſt relation, being a proteſtant, to take poſſeſſion of the father's eſtate during the life time of the proprietor; and the depriving papiſts of the power of acquiring any legal property by purchaſe. In propoſing the repeal of theſe penalties, Sir George Saville ſaid, "that he meant to vindicate the honor and aſſert the principles of the proteſtant religion, to which all proſecution was foreign and adverſe. The penalties in queſtion were diſgraceful, not only to religion, but to humanity. They were calculated to looſen all the bands of ſociety, to diſſolve all ſocial, moral, and religious obligations and duties; to poiſon the ſources of domeſtic felicity, and to annihilate every principle of honor." The motion was received, to the infinite credit of the houſe, with ſuch high and marked approbation, that the bill founded upon it paſſed without a ſingle negative, and ſoon afterwards acquired by the cordial concurrence of the peers and the monarch, the force of a law.

About this time general Burgoyne returned to England, being releaſed on his parole by congreſs; but he met, probably to his ſurpriſe, with a very cold and indifferent reception from the miniſters, and in a manner which clearly indicated his diſgrace, was refuſed admiſſion to the royal preſence. The general, highly reſenting this treatment, avenged himſelf by loud complaints in the houſe of commons of the miſconduct of miniſters, deſcribing them as totally incompetent to ſuſtain the weight of public affairs in the preſent critical and dangerous emergency. This mode of retaliation, however, contributed little to raiſe his character in the eſtimation of the public, who clearly diſcerned the real cauſes of his defection from the court, who were not ignorant that the plan of the Canada expedition had his entire previous approbation, and that, in the execution of it, his valor was much more conſpicuous than his judgment or diſcretion. In the ſequel, he was ordered to rejoin his troops in America, whom, on various frivolous pretences, the congreſs refuſed to releaſe, till the convention of Saratoga was formally ratified by the court of Great Britain. With this injunction, though coming from the higheſt authority, the general refuſing to comply, he was diveſted of all the poſts and offices which he held under the government.

This ſeſſion is diſtinguiſhed above all others for a multiplicity of motions in both houſes, by different members, chiefly of the oppoſition, on various ſubjects of political concern, which gave riſe to long and tedious debates; and which being ſucceſſively negatived by the influence of the court, it is fruitleſs to particularize. The moſt remarkable of theſe was a reſolution moved by Mr, Gilbert, in the committee of ſupply, March 2, that a tax of five ſhillings in the pound be laid upon penſions and ſalaries iſſuing out of the exchequer, during the continuance of the war; which was carried by 100 to 82 voices, but, on the report, rejected by 147 to 141. A bill for the excluſion of contractors from the houſe of commons was alſo loſt by a majority of two voices only; on the motion of commitment the numbers on the diviſion being 115 to 113. Upon the whole, it appeared that the minority gained ſtrength, and a dawn of hope aroſe that the reign of the preſent miniſtry might not be immortal.

On the 3d of June 1778 the parliament was prorogued, and thanks were returned by the king, in his ſpeech, "for the zeal ſhewn by parliament in ſupporting the honour of the crown, and their attention to the real intereſts of the nation, manifeſted in wiſe, juſt, and humane laws which had been the reſult of their deliberations."

At the eve of a war with France, and a war with Spain in no very diſtant proſpect, two different lines of conduct now obviouſly preſented themſelves. Either, 1ſt, to withdraw our fleets and armies from America, and to direct the whole force of the empire againſt the houſe of Bourbon, in the hope of ſucceſs ſo deciſive as to enable us in the reſult to conclude an advantageous accommodation with America, conformably to the general ideas of lord Chatham; or, 2dly, which would have been infinitely the wiſer, though the leſs ſplendid and attractive plan, unreſervedly to recognize the independency of America, which would have opened the way, without difficulty, to an immediate and general pacification. But the preſent miniſters, in the ſame ſpirit of folly and phrenſy which had invariably marked their conduct, determined to adhere to their former project of conquering America; contenting themſelves with oppoſing ſuch part of the general force of the empire as could be ſpared for this ſecondary and inferior purpoſe, to the whole undivided ſtrength of the houſe of Bourbon. "The king of England," ſays the celebrated monarch of Pruſſia, ſpeaking of the ſtate of affairs of Great Britain at this period, "who ſtill acted upon the ſyſtem of Bute, combated with inflexible obſtinacy the obſtacles which on all ſides preſented themſelves. Inſenſible to the miſeries and misfortunes of his people, he only became, in conſequence of the reſiſtance he met with, the more eager for the accompliſhment of his projects."

In the beginning of June 1778, the new commiſſioners, lord Carliſle, Mr. Eden, and Mr. Johnſtone, formerly governor of Florida, arrived at Philadelphia, more than a month after the ratifications of the treaty between France and America had been formally exchanged. The reception they met with was ſuch as men the moſt oppoſite in their politics had foreſeen and foretold. Dr. Ferguſon, ſecretary to the commiſſion, was refuſed a paſſport to congreſs, and they were compelled to forward their papers by the common means. The commiſſioners, at the very outſet, made conceſſions far greater than the Americans, in their ſeveral petitions to the king, had requeſted or deſired —greater indeed than the powers conferred upon them by the act ſeemed to authorize. Amongſt the moſt remarkable of theſe was the engagement "to agree that no military force ſhould be kept up in the different ſtates of America, without the conſent of the general congreſs, or of the ſeveral aſſemblies—to concur in meaſures calculated to diſcharge the debts of America, and to raiſe the credit and value of the paper circulation—to admit of repreſentatives from the ſeveral ſtates, who ſhould have a ſeat and voice in the parliament of Great Britain—to eſtabliſh a perfect freedom of legiſlation and internal government, comprehending every privilege ſhort of a total ſeparation of intereſts, or conſiſtent with that union of force on which the ſafety of the common religion and liberty depends."

Theſe papers, when laid before the congreſs, were read with aſtoniſhment and regret; but from the declaration of INDEPENDENCE they hadneither the will nor the power to recede. An anſwer therefore, brief but concluſive, was returned by the preſident Henry Laurens, declaring "that nothing but an earneſt deſire to ſpare the farther effuſion of human blood, could have induced them to read a paper a paper containing expreſſions ſo diſreſpectful to his moſt chriſtian majeſty their ally, or to conſider propoſitions ſo derogatory to the honor of an independent nation. The commiſſion, under which they act, ſuppoſes the people of America, to be ſtill ſubjects of the crown of Great Britain, which is an idea utterly inadmiſſible." The preſident added, "that he is directed to inform their excellencies of the inclination of congreſs to peace, notwithſtanding the unjuſt claims from which this war originated, and the ſavage manner in which it had been conducted. They will therefore be ready to enter upon the conſideration of a treaty of peace and commerce, not inconſiſtent with treaties already ſubſiſting, when the king of Great Britain ſhall demonſtrate a ſincere diſpoſition for that purpoſe; and the only ſolid proof of this diſpoſition will be an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of the United States, or the withdrawing his fleets and armies."

The commiſſioners, finding the door of negotiation ſhut againſt them, publiſhed very unwarrantable appeals to the people at large, calculated to excite diſcord among the ſeveral colonies, or ſeditious tumults againſt the eſtabliſhed governments. Theſe producing no manner of effect, they promulgated a moſt ſignal valedictory manifeſto, containing a dark and myſterious menace, warning the people of America of the total and material change which was to take place in the future conduct of the war, ſhould they ſtill perſevere in their OBSTINACY.

The congreſs, who had taken little notice of their former addreſſes, were now provoked to publiſh a counter-manifeſto, in which they ſay, "if our enemies preſume to execute their threats, we will take ſuch EXEMPLARY VENGEANCE as ſhall deter others from a like conduct." The commiſſioners now returned to England, after having executed their *conciliatory commiſſion*, in a mode which left America in a far worſe ſtate of irritation and inflammability than they found it*. The earl of Carliſle had brought with him an order, little calculated to add weight to his miſſion, for the immediate evacuation of the city of Philadelphia, and the retreat of the army to New York. This was a meaſure, however mortifying, which was rendered very neceſſary by the departure of a ſtrong ſquadron from the port of Toulon in the month of April, which the naval force under lord Howe was in no condition to oppoſe.

On the 18th of June the whole Britiſh army paſſed the Delawar. Some weeks previous to this event, general Howe had reſigned the command to Sir Henry Clinton. Though uniformly *in a certain degree* ſucceſsful in his enterpriſes, this officer acquired little acceſſion of military reputation in America. Brave as a ſoldier, but, in the capacity of a general, ſlow, cautious, and indeciſive, he deviated into an extreme the oppoſite of general Burgoyne, who was cenſured as raſh, preſumptuous, and romantic. The march of the Britiſh army through the Jerſeys was not unattended with difficulty. Encumbered with an enormous train of baggage, extending the length of twelve miles, the whole country hoſtile, the bridges broken down before, and a vigilant enemy preſſing cloſe behind, the utmoſt prudence and circumſpection of the new general were neceſſary to make a vigorous and effectual defence againſt thoſe attacks to which a retreating army is ſo peculiarly expoſed. Inſtead of proceeding in a direct route to Brunſwick, the general determined, by bending his march to the right, and approaching the ſea-coaſt, at once to diſappoint the expectation of the enemy, and to avoid the difficulty attending the paſſage of the Rariton.

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* Governor Johnſtone had very early fallen into extreme diſgrace by an indirect attempt to bribe ſome of the leading members of the congreſs; which aſſembly thereupon paſſed a formal reſolution, that they would have no farther intercourſe with him in his public capacity, and his name was accordingly omitted in the papers ſubſequently addreſſed by the commiſſioners to the congreſs. This ridiculous and ineffectual overture was made through the medium of a Mrs. Ferguſon, who was ſuſpected not to have been endowed with all that SECRECY requiſite to the diſcharge of ſo delicate an office. Governor Johnſtone, who, on his firſt arrival in America, had complimented the congreſs in high flown and extravagant terms, on this mortifying expoſure changed his language to the loweſt abuſe. The fact, however, was clearly aſcertained; and the governor, in his ludicrous diſtreſs, might be allowed feelingly enough to exclaim, in the words of SHAKESPEAR,

"Let not the heavens hear theſe tell-tale women!"

On the evening of the 27th of June the royal army encamped in the vicinity of Monmouth court-houſe, and early the next morning they recommenced their march. Scarcely were they in motion when the enemy were diſcovered moving in force at ſome diſtance on both flanks: the firſt diviſion under general Knyphauſen, proceeding with the eſcort of carriages to the heights of Middletown, the Engliſh commander immediately formed his troops, with a view to bring on a general engagement. General Lee, who had been ſome time ſince exchanged, advanced with the van of the American army to the attack, in conformity to the directions of general Waſhington; but ſeveral of the brigades under his command being thrown into confuſion by an impetuous aſſault of the Britiſh cavalry, he ordered a retreat, with a view to form anew in an advantageous poſition behind a ravine and moraſs. In the interim general Waſhington arrived at the head of the main army, and expreſſed in ſtrong terms his aſtoniſhment and indignation at the retrograde motion of the van. General Lee replied with equal warmth; but in the reſult the troops of the van were ordered to form in front of the moraſs, where an obſtinate engagement enſued, till the Americans being again worſted and broken, general Lee was again under the neceſſity of ordering a retreat, which he conducted with great ſkill and courage, himſelf being one of the laſt who remained on the field. The Britiſh light infantry and rangers, in the mean time, who had filed off to the left, and attempted an aſſault on the American main body, where general Waſhington com-

manded

manded in perſon, met with ſuch a reception as compelled them after repeated efforts to deſiſt from the attack; and the day being intenſely hot, the action, in which the two armies appear to have ſuſtained nearly equal loſs, ceaſed, from mere wearineſs and fatigue. At midnight Sir Henry renewed his march in profound ſilence, and on the 30th of June arrived in ſafety at Sandy Hook, from whence he paſſed over to New York without farther moleſtation.

The high ſpirit of general Lee could not, however, brook the language which general Waſhington had haſtily uſed, and he wrote him in conſequence a paſſionate letter, which occaſioned his being put under immediate arreſt; and a court-martial being held upon him for diſobedience of orders, miſbehaviour in action and diſreſpect to his commander, he was found guilty upon every charge, and ſuſpended from all his military commands for twelve months. It was ſuſpected that the commander in chief was not diſpleaſed at the diſmiſſal of a man ſo haughty and impracticable; nor did the army, in whoſe eſtimation he had been viſibly leſſened ſince the diſaſter which had befallen him, appear much to regret his loſs. For though the capture of general Lee was merely fortuitous, misfortune is in the minds of men nearly allied to diſgrace, diſgrace produces contempt, and contempt verges towards alienation and hatred.

No ſooner had Sir Henry Clinton and the army evacuated Philadelphia, than lord Howe prepared to ſail with the fleet to New York. Repeated calms retarded his paſſage down the Delawar, ſo that he could not clear the cape till the evening of the 28th of June: and on the 29th his lordſhip reached Sandy Hook, whence he conveyed the army to New York. In a few days after the departure of lord Howe, count d'Eſtaing arrived off the coaſt, and anchored in the night of the 8th of July at the mouth of the Delawar; ſo that lord Howe narrowly eſcaped a ſurpriſe, which would probably have been attended with very fatal conſequences.

On the 11th the French fleet, conſiſting of fifteen ſail of the line, appeared off Sandy Hook, to which lord Howe could oppoſe only eleven ſhips of very inferior magnitude and weight of metal. Theſe were ranged with great ſkill and judgment in the harbor, in full expectation of an attack from the French fleet, which ſeemed reſolutely bent upon the attempt. But the American pilots on board declared it impoſſible for the large ſhips of D'Eſtaing's ſquadron to paſs the bar;—ſo that after eleven days tarriance he ſailed to Rhode Iſland, in order to co-operate with general Sullivan in an enterpriſe againſt Newport.

The approach of the French fleet created the unpleaſant neceſſity of burning the Orpheus, Lark, Juno, and Cerberus frigates; and of ſinking the Flora and Falcon. The commander of the garriſon, Sir Robert Pigot, made every preparation for a vigorous defence; and lord Howe, being at length reinforced by ſeveral ſhips from England—part of a ſquadron commanded by admiral Byron, tardily diſpatched after the Toulon fleet—immediately ſtood out to ſea, though ſtill inferior in force, in order to give battle to the French admiral, who ſeemed not unwilling to accept the challenge. After much manoeuvring for the weather-gage, the fleets were ſeparated by a violent tempeſt, by which the great ſhips of the French ſquadron were ſo much damaged, that it was deemed by Count d'Eſtaing abſolutely neceſſary to ſteer for the port of Boſton to refit. General Sullivan was in conſequence compelled with chagrin and reluctance to withdraw his troops from Rhode Iſland.

After the ſtorm, or rather during the ſtorm, when the fury of it had in ſome degree ſubſided, the Renown of fifty guns, captain Dawſon, fell in with the Languedoc of ninety guns, d'Eſtaing's own ſhip, which had loſt both her rudder and her maſts, whom he engaged with ſuch advantage as to flatter him with the proſpect of an immediate capture, when the appearance of ſeveral other ſhips of the ſquadron compelled him to deſiſt. Captain Raynor in the Iſis, and captain Hotham in the Preſton, both of fifty guns, fought with great gallantry the Zelé of ſeventy-four, and the Tonnant of eighty—but no ſhip on either ſide ſtruck her colors. Lord Howe, with all poſſible expedition, followed his antagoniſt to Boſton, in the hope of a favorable opportunity of attack; but found the French fleet lying in Nantaſket Road, ſo well defended by the forts and batteries erected on the points of land and the iſlands adjacent, that it was adjudged abſolutely impracticable. Soon after this (October 1778) Lord Howe quitted the command to admiral Gambier, having acquired in the courſe of the campaign much reputation by his ſkilful and vigorous exertions in a ſituation peculiarly critical and hazardous.

The projects of count d'Eſtaing being effectually diſconcerted in America, he ſailed in the beginning of November to the Weſt Indies, in order to ſecond the operations of the marquis de Bouillé, governor of Martinico, who had already captured the important iſland of Dominique, to which he granted terms ſo favorable that the inhabitants had little reaſon to regret the change of maſters. On the very ſame day that the French fleet left Boſton, a detachment of five thouſand troops under convoy of a ſmall ſquadron commanded by commodore Hotham, ſailed from Sandy Hook, and arrived, fortunately without encountering the enemy in their courſe, at Barbadoes, December 10 (1778.) Without ſuffering the troops to diſembark, an expedition was immediately reſolved upon againſt the iſland of St. Lucia, where on the 13th a landing was effected. By the active exertions of general Meadows and admiral Barrington, upon whom the command had now devolved, ſeveral of the advanced poſts were carried, when count d'Eſtaing appeared in view with a far ſuperior force, having on board a large body of troops, with which he hoped to effect the entire reduction of the Engliſh iſlands. The ſquadron of admiral Barrington conſiſted only of three ſhips of the line, two of fifty guns, and three frigates, which he ſtationed acroſs the entrance of the Careenage, ſupported by ſeveral batteries erected on the ſhore. On the morning of the 15th of December the French admiral bore down with ten ſail of the line, but met with ſo gallant a reception that he thought proper in a ſhort time to draw off. In the afternoon he renewed the attack with his whole ſquadron, and a furious cannonade, directed chiefly againſt admiral Barrington's diviſion, was kept up for ſeveral hours, without making any impreſſion upon the Engliſh line; and the French admiral was again obliged to deſiſt from his attack. He now landed a body of five thouſand troops, and putting himſelf at their head marched with great reſolution to the aſſault of the Britiſh lines: but they were received by general Meadows with the ſame determined valor as they had before experienced from admiral Barrington; and being repulſed with great loſs, the count re-embarked his troops, and left the iſland to its fate. It ſoon after ſurrendered to the Britiſh arms on honorable terms of capitulation, and this conqueſt was conſidered as much more than an equivalent for the loſs of Dominique.

On the continent of America the war ſtill raged with dreadful and unremitted malignity. In conſequence of the horrid mode of warfare adopted by the court of Great Britain, which in the midſt of pleaſure and feſtivity iſſued its orders to deſolate and deſtroy, an expedition was undertaken by a colonel Butler, in conjunction with one Brandt, an half Indian by birth, and a man beyond example cruel and ferocious, againſt the beautiful and flouriſhing ſettlement of Wyoming. This was an infant riſing colony, ſituated on the eaſtern branch of the Suſquehanna, conſiſting of eight townſhips, in a country and climate luxuriantly fertile.

In the month of July 1778 the enemy appeared in force to the number of about ſixteen hundred men, of whom about one-fourth were Indians, and immediately inveſted the fort. The commandant, knowing its inability to make any effectual defence, diſpatched a flag to colonel Butler, to know what terms he would grant on a ſurrender; to which he replied in two words, THE HATCHET. The garriſon, though reſolute to ſell their lives as dear as poſſible, were ſoon overpowered; and the ſavage conquerors, after gratifying their infernal rage by a moſt bloody military execution, ſhut up the remainder in the barracks, to which they ſet fire, and conſumed the whole in one general blaze. The entire ſettlement was now delivered up to all the horrors of Indian barbarity, of which the detail is not to be endured. A terreſtrial paradiſe was in a ſhort time converted into a frightful waſte; and men, women, and children underwent one common butchery, in all the poſſible varieties of torture. A Provincial officer, of the name of Bedlock, being ſtripped naked, had his body ſtuck full of ſharp pine ſplinters; and a heap of knots of the ſame wood being then piled around him, the whole was ſet on fire—two other officers alſo, captains Ranſey and Durgie, being thrown alive into the flames. Such are the accurſed conſequences of that princely ambition which is exalted ſo high above the level of common life as to admit of no ſympathy with human miſery. Feeling deeply for the honor of Britain, a veil has been perhaps too partially caſt over the enormities committed by the Indians employed in the northern expedition, and in other parts of the continent. There are indeed degrees of human depravity and wickedneſs creative of ſenſations which no tongue can expreſs, and no language impart*.

To

* "They ERR who count it glorious to ſubdue
By conqueſt far and wide, to over run
Large countries—deſerving freedom more
Than thoſe their conquerors, who leave behind
Nothing but ruin whereſoe'er they rove,
And all the flouriſhing works of peace deſtroy—
Then ſwell with pride, and muſt be titled GODS."

MILTON.

To deſcend to what muſt be regarded as an authorized and civilized mode of warfare, it is neceſſary to mention that major general Grey, an officer who had repeatedly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his military ſkill and courage, was detached in the month of September from New York on an expedition to a place called Fair-Haven, on the coaſt of New England, where he deſtroyed about ſeventy ſail of ſhipping, together with the magazines, wharfs, ſtores, &c. and proceeding to Martha's Vineyard, a beautiful iſland in the vicinity, he carried off an immenſe booty in oxen and ſheep, which afforded a welcome ſupply to the army at New York.

In a ſhort time after this, the ſame officer, acting under the direction of lord Cornwallis, ſurpriſed in the night, aſleep and naked, a regiment of American light-horſe, ſtationed near the right bank of the North River. Quarter being refuſed, and the men wholly incapable of reſiſtance, a terrible execution took place, which the Congreſs in a ſubſequent remonſtrance ſcrupled not to ſtigmatize as "a maſſacre in cold blood." A ſimilar enterpriſe was undertaken with ſimilar ſucceſs by captain Ferguſon, againſt a detached corps of Pulawſki's legion of light infantry; and the Americans were not a little embarraſſed to conjecture what thoſe worſe extremes of war could be, which the manifeſto of the commiſſioners menaced them with in the future conduct of it.

An undertaking of greater importance was now determined upon by Sir Henry Clinton, who detached a conſiderable body of troops under the command of colonel Campbell, convoyed by a ſquadron under Sir Hyde Parker, to attempt the recovery of the province of Georgia—general Prevoſt, governor of Eaſt Florida, having at the ſame time orders to co-operate with them. On the 23d of December 1778, the whole armament arrived at the mouth of the Savannah. The force which that weak and infant colony was able to oppoſe to the invaders was ſoon diſperſed, and the town of Savannah fell of courſe into the hands of the victors. General Prevoſt ſoon after arriving with a large re-inforcement, took upon him the command of the whole.

FROM this ſketch of the campaign of 1778 in America, it is now expedient to advert to the ſituation of affairs in Europe. When a war with France appeared inevitable, admiral Keppel, an officer of diſtinguiſhed merit and reputation, but wholly unconnected with the preſent miniſters, was, on the perſonal and urgent ſolicitation of the king, prevailed on to accept the command of the channel fleet, though, as he himſelf obſerved, "his forty years ſervices were not marked by any favor from the crown, except that of its confidence in the time of danger." The admiral, at parting, might with propriety have ſaid to his ſovereign, as Marechal Villars to LOUIS XIV. "I go to fight your majeſty's enemies, and leave mine in your cloſet."

On the 13th of June the admiral ſailed from St. Helen's with twenty ſhips of the line, and at the entrance of the Bay of Biſcay he fell in with the Licorne and the Belle Poule, two French frigates. Through that feebleneſs and indeciſion of counſels which prevailed at this period in the Britiſh Cabinet, the admiral had no poſitive orders as to the commiſſion or avoidance of actual hoſtilities, but was inveſted with an unmeaning and, as to himſelf, dangerous diſcretion of acting according to circumſtances. Perceiving the frigates intent on taking an accurate ſurvey of his fleet, he thought it expedient to fire a gun in order to compel them to bring to; and on their refuſal to obey the ſignal a chace enſued, when the Licorne, after wantonly diſcharging a whole broadſide, ſtruck to the America of ſeventy-four guns. The Belle Poule, after a warm engagement with the Arethuſa, eſcaped by running on ſhore. The Pallas alſo, another French frigate, was in the mean time captured and detained. From the papers found on board theſe frigates, the admiral diſcovered to his inexpreſſible aſtoniſhment that the French fleet, lying in Breſt water, amounted to no leſs than thirty-two ſail of the line: he was therefore under the immediate neceſſity of returning to port for a reinforcement; and, on tranſmitting accounts of his proceedings to government, he received no intimation of approbation or diſapprobation.

On the 9th of July, however, he was enabled again to ſail with twenty-four ſhips, and was ſoon afterwards joined by ſix more. In a few days he came in ſight of the French fleet, commanded by M. d'Orvilliers, who ſeemed, on perceiving the Engliſh fleet nearly equal in force, inclined to avoid an engagement; but the wind changing ſome points in favor of the Engliſh, they gained ſo much upon the enemy that an engagement became inevitable, and the French ranging in order of battle, but on the oppoſite tack, the fleets paſſed each other about noon in a diagonal direction. The action, though very warm, was conſequently partial; but the Engliſh admiral having in a ſhort time ſufficiently repaired his damages, made the proper ſignals for the van and rear diviſions to take their reſpective ſtations. This order was inſtantly obeyed by Sir Robert Harland, of the van; but admiral Sir Hugh Palliſer, of the rear or blue diviſion, who had fallen a great way to leeward, took no notice whatever of the ſignals. Admiral Keppel, after waiting perhaps too long, ſent the Fox frigate at five o'clock with peremptory directions to Sir Hugh Palliſer, to bear down into his wake in order to renew the engagement. Sir Hugh anſwered, "that he was *knotting and ſplicing*, but would obey the order as ſoon as poſſible."

At ſix o'clock the commander threw out another ſignal for ALL SHIPS to come into their ſtations; and at ſeven o'clock, wearied with expectation, he threw out a third ſignal, for each particular ſhip of the blue diviſion to come into her ſtation in the line—but all to no purpoſe, and the day finally cloſed before Sir Hugh Palliſer rejoined his commander. In the night the French made ſail for their own coaſt, and in the morning ſcarcely were the rearmoſt ſhips diſcernible from the top-maſt heads of the Engliſh fleet. Admiral Keppel therefore returned to Portſmouth to refit; but his public letter, containing an account of this tranſaction, occaſioned great ſpeculation—his deſire to ſcreen the miſconduct of the admiral of the blue inducing him to give ſuch a relation of this engagement as ſeemed to imply great impropriety of behaviour in the commander himſelf. For no reaſon whatever was aſſigned for not renewing the engagement in the afternoon, except the expectation of the admiral, "that the French would fight it out handſomely the next day."

It was impoſſible that the truth ſhould not in ſome degree tranſpire; and a well written letter appearing ſome time afterwards in the public prints, ſeverely reflecting on the conduct of Sir Hugh Palliſer, that officer thought proper to require from the commander in chief a formal diſavowal of the charges it contained, and a public juſtification of his character. This the commander abſolutely and indignantly declining, the vice admiral immediately exhibited articles of accuſation againſt admiral Keppel, for miſconduct and neglect of duty on the 17th of July (1778), although he had in the month of October a ſecond time ſailed with admiral Keppel, and had never before this ſo much as whiſpered a word to his prejudice.

The lords of the admiralty, to the aſtoniſhment of the nation, without the leaſt heſitation, and even with apparent alacrity and ſatisfaction, fixed a day for the trial of the commander in chief; the reſult of which was in the higheſt degree honorable to that brave and injured officer, who was not only unanimouſly acquitted by the court-martial, but received the thanks of both houſes of parliament for his ſervices. Sir Hugh Palliſer afterwards demanded a court-martial upon himſelf, which terminated in a ſlight cenſure only; but the reſentment of the public was ſo great that it was deemed expedient by the miniſters to *accept* his ſucceſſive reſignations of his place at the board of admiralty, his lieutenant-generalſhip of marines, his government of Scarborough Caſtle, and to *permit* him to vacate his ſeat in the houſe of commons. The acquittal of admiral Keppel was celebrated with illuminations and rejoicing in all parts of the kingdom; and the houſes of lord Sandwich and Sir Hugh Palliſer were inſulted by the populace, and the demolition of them with difficulty prevented.

The ready acquieſcence of the board of admiralty in the appointment of the court-martial, on a charge ſo groſsly invidious and unjuſt, gave the higheſt diſguſt to the officers of the navy. A ſtrong memorial was preſented to his majeſty on the ſubject by the duke of Bolton, ſigned by twelve admirals, with the venerable Hawke at their head, ſtating to his majeſty, in ſtrong colors, the ruinous conſequences which the precedent now introduced would inevitably bring upon all naval ſervice and diſcipline. "If," ſaid theſe gallant defenders of their country, "we had conceived that this board had no legal uſe of their reaſon in a point of ſuch delicacy and importance, we ſhould have known on what terms we ſerved; but we never did imagine it poſſible that we were to receive orders from, and be accountable to, thoſe who by law were reduced to become mere paſſive inſtruments to the poſſible ignorance, malice, or treachery of any individual, who might think fit to diſarm his majeſty's navy of its beſt and higheſt officers. We conceive it to be diſreſpectful to the laws of our country, to ſuppoſe them capable of ſuch manifeſt injuſtice and abſurdity."

The only part of admiral Keppel's conduct really culpable appears to have proceeded from that exceſs of deference and reſpect for Sir Hugh Palliſer, which prevented his adopting thoſe daring and deciſive meaſures the occaſion called for, in order to improve in the moſt effectual manner an opportunity of which he had little reaſon to expect the return. The courage of Sir Hugh Palliſer had been on many occaſions too conſpicuous to be queſtioned; but that principle of envy, ſo powerful in ſome minds, could not endure that a man whom he regarded in the light of a rival ſhould acquire ſuch an addition of fame and ſuperiority as muſt have reſulted from a complete and decided victory.

The SESSION commenced on the 26th of November 1778. The ſpeech from the throne was loud in complaint of "the unexampled and unprovoked hoſtility of the court of France; and regret was expreſſed that the efforts which had been made for diſappointing the malignant deſigns of the enemy had not been attended with all the ſucceſs which the juſtice of the cauſe, and the vigorous exertions which had been made, ſeemed to promiſe." The addreſſes of both houſes, in the uſual ſtyle of duty and loyalty, were carried by great majorities. But in a ſhort time the attention of parliament was attracted by a motion made by the Marquis of Rockingham, "That an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, to expreſs the diſpleaſure of the houſe at the manifeſto iſſued under the ſeal of the American commiſſioners on the 3d day of October laſt; and to acquaint his majeſty with the ſenſe of the houſe, that the ſaid commiſſioners had no authority whatſoever under the act of parliament, in virtue of which they were appointed, to make ſuch declaration; and humbly beſeeching that the ſaid manifeſto be publicly diſavowed by his majeſty." The noble mover, in the courſe of an able and excellent ſpeech, addreſſed himſelf to the BISHOPS in a manner peculiarly ſtriking. He obſerved that "the nature and principles of the war were entirely changed. The right reverend bench, relying on the aſſurances of miniſters, might originally have believed its motives honorable, and its object eaſily attainable; but the ſame miniſters now declared to all the world, that a totally new ſyſtem of policy was adopted, America was relinquiſhed, and a new ſpecies of war denounced, tending merely and avowedly to revenge, ſlaughter, and univerſal deſtruction. The ſimple votes of their lordſhips on this occaſion would at once fully expreſs their deteſtation of the inhuman ſyſtem in queſtion, and, in conjunction with thoſe of the temporal lords, who entertained the ſame ſentiments, would fully obviate its effects." After a vehement debate, in which the miniſters endeavored, by refinements of explanation, to palliate what no one dared explicitly to defend, the motion was negatived by a majority of 71 to 37 Peers, 31 of whom joined in a proteſt of uncommon energy and ability. "The public law of nations," ſaid their lordſhips, "in affirmance of the dictates of nature and the precepts of religion, forbids us to reſort to the extremes of war upon our own opinion of their expediency, or in any caſe to carry on war for the purpoſe of deſolation. We are ſhocked to ſee the firſt law of nature, 'ſelf-preſervation,' perverted and abuſed into a principle deſtructive of all other laws. Thoſe objects of war which cannot be compaſſed by fair and honorable hoſtility, ought not to be compaſſed at all. An end that has no means but ſuch as are unlawful, is an unlawful end." It is painful to remark, that the name of one Biſhop only, the venerable Shipley of St. Aſaph, is to be found in the long and illuſtrious train of ſignatures affixed to this memorable proteſt; which, if it wanted any other recommendation to notice than its own intrinſic merit, might with pride recount the names of a Rockingham, a Camden, a Portland, an Effingham, a Harcourt, and many others, inferior neither in wiſdom nor in virtue to any which this age or country could boaſt.

Some time after the Chriſtmas receſs, Mr. Fox moved a vote of cenſure upon lord Sandwich, for ſending admiral Keppel, with twenty ſhips of the line only, to a ſtation off the coaſt of France, thereby hazarding the ſafety of the kingdom, the Breſt fleet conſiſting at that time of thirty-two ſhips of the line, beſides a great ſuperiority of frigates. Mr. Fox ſaid, if the preſent motion was carried, he ſhould follow it with another, for the removal of the firſt lord of the admiralty. This nobleman had deſervedly incurred the public reſentment and odium by the countenance he had given to the late proſecution of admiral Keppel. Of this he now felt the effect; the motion of cenſure being negatived, in a very full houſe, by a majority of 34 voices only. Encouraged by the unaccuſtomed ſtrength of the minority on this occaſion, Mr. Fox in a few days moved, "That the ſtate of the navy, at the breaking out of the preſent war, was inadequate to the exigencies of the ſervice." This motion he enforced in a ſpeech of ſingular ability. In the courſe of the debate, lord Howe declared his reſolution to decline all future ſervice, ſo long as the preſent miniſters continued in office. A deciſive experience had taught him, that beſides riſquing his honor and profeſſional character in ſuch an attempt, he could not, under ſuch counſels, render any eſſential ſervice to his country. The whole force of the miniſtry being exerted to parry this attack, the motion was at length rejected, by a majority of 246 to 174 voices.

The indulgence ſhewn in the laſt ſeſſion to the Roman Catholics, made the refuſal of the claim of the Proteſtant Diſſenters appear ſo extremely invidious on the part of the court, that it was judged improper longer to diſcourage the application for their relief; and on the motion of Sir Henry Houghton, ſeconded by Mr. Frederic Montague, a bill for that purpoſe was brought in, and paſſed through both houſes with very trivial oppoſition. The debate in the houſe of lords was, however, rendered memorable, by a very remarkable ſpeech of Dr. Shipley, biſhop of St. Aſaph, the friend and diſciple of HOADLEY, and on whom the mantle of that illuſtrious prelate ſeemed in an eſpecial manner to have deſcended. His lordſhip expreſſed "his moſt cordial acquieſcence in the repeal of thoſe penal laws which had long been the diſgrace of the national church :—he objected only to the condition annexed to the repeal—the IMPOSITION of a confeſſion of faith, however ſhort and general and *true*—ſuch as he hoped he ſhould have the virtue, if called upon, to ſeal with his blood. But his lordſhip abſolutely diſclaimed, for himſelf, any authority civil or ſacred to impoſe this creed upon other men. By ſuch impoſition the preſent bill, which profeſſes to repeal all former penal laws, is converted into a penal law itſelf; for thoſe who do not ſubſcribe the declaration ſtill remain liable to all the old penalties. The truth contained in the declaration, viz. 'That the ſcriptures are the revealed will of GOD, and the rule of faith and practice,' was indeed acknowledged by every proteſtant. But ſuppoſing the exiſtence of any ſet of chriſtians who ſhould reject our canon of ſcripture, who ſhould build their faith on the baſis of tradition, or on the ſuppoſed illuminations of the ſpirit, would you, my lords, perſecute them for believing chriſtianity upon arguments that ſuit their own underſtandings? Such men would undoubtedly be in error, but error in religion is the very ground and ſubject of toleration. The evils reſulting from this declaration are not however confined to poſſibilities. Many of the moſt eminent of the diſſenting miniſters—men highly deſerving eſteem for their ſcience, their literature, their critical ſtudy of the ſcriptures, for their excellent writings in defence of chriſtianity, as well as of the civil and religious rights of mankind;—men, whom it would be no diſparagement to this Bench to acknowledge as friends and brethren, engaged in the ſame honorable and arduous taſk of inſtructing the world in the ways of happineſs:—ſuch men as theſe, my lords, if the clauſe in queſtion be enacted and carried into execution, will not even be tolerated. Declaring, as they have invariably done, againſt all human authority in matters of religion, and holding it as a firſt principle of proteſtantiſm, that no church has a right to impoſe its own articles of faith upon others, they conceive that an acquieſcence in this declaration would imply a recognition of that claim which they are bound as chriſtians and proteſtants to reſiſt. It is the duty of magiſtrates, it is indeed the very end of magiſtracy, to protect *all men* in the enjoyment of their natural rights, of which the free exerciſe of their religion is one of the firſt and beſt. All hiſtory, my lords, is full of the miſchiefs occaſioned by the want of toleration;

but no one has ever yet pretended to ſhew that any public evils have been occaſioned by toleration. At a meeting of the right rev. bench, where I had the honor to be preſent, it was aſked, 'whether the clauſe in queſtion was ever intended to be put in execution?' It was anſwered, 'No, there was no ſuch intention.' I aſked then, and I aſk now, 'What was the uſe of making laws that were never to be executed?' To make uſeleſs and inſignificant laws, is not to exerciſe authority, but to degrade it; it is a vain, idle, and inſolent parade of legiſlation: and yet, my lords, would to GOD the four laſt ſhameful and miſerable years had been employed in making ſuch laws as theſe! this wretched country might ſtill have been ſafe, and perhaps once more might have been happy. But, my lords, let us for a moment conſider to whom this power of preſcribing articles of faith is to be confided;—undoubtedly this holy depoſit cannot fail to be lodged where we have placed every thing elſe that is great and good—the honor, the intereſt, the ſtrength, and revenues of the nation—ALL are placed in the keeping of the MINISTRY. Perhaps, my lords, there might be miniſters, to whoſe management none who have the leaſt value for their religion would chooſe to confide it. One might naturally aſk a miniſter for a good penſion, or a good contract, or a place at court; but hardly any one would think of making intereſt with them for a place in HEAVEN. What I now ſay applies only to future bad miniſters, for of the preſent adminiſtration I moſt firmly believe that they are fully as capable of defining articles of faith as of directing the counſels of the ſtate. The ruling party is always very liberal in beſtowing the title of ſchiſmatic and heretic on thoſe who differ from them in religion, and in repreſenting them as dangerous to the ſtate. My lords, the contrary is the truth. Thoſe who are uppermoſt, and have the power, are the men who do the miſchief, while the ſchiſmatics only ſuffer and complain. Aſk, who has brought the affairs of this country into the preſent calamitous ſtate? Who are the men that have plundered and depopulated Bengal? Who are they that have turned a whole continent, inhabited by friends and kindred, into our bittereſt enemies? Yes! they who have ſhorn the ſtrength and cut off the right arm of Britain, were all members of the ESTABLISHED CHURCH, all orthodox men. I am not afraid of thoſe tender and ſcrupulous conſciences who are over cautious of profeſſing or believing too much: if they are ſincerely in the wrong, I forgive their errors, and reſpect their integrity. The men I am afaid of, are the men who believe every thing, and ſubſcribe every thing, and who VOTE for every thing."—Upon the whole, it appears but too evident, that the final ſucceſs of the bill, from which the objectionable clauſe was not ſuffered to be expunged, muſt be attributed not to the candor and equity of the court, but to the general ſpirit and temper of the times, which were at this period happily and ſtrongly at variance with the ſpirit of perſecution and intolerance.

A far more doubtful and difficult ſubject of diſcuſſion preſented itſelf, in contemplating the ſtate political and commercial of the kingdom of Ireland; which, by the continuance of the preſent ruinous war, was now reduced to the moſt extreme and urgent diſtreſs. Lord Newhaven, in concert with various other reſpectable members particularly connected with that kingdom, attempted to revive the propoſitions of the laſt year with ſome new modifications, but without effect. At length it was carried by a ſmall majority to repeal that clauſe in the act of Navigation in favor of Ireland, by which ſhips coming from the Weſt Indies were compelled to bring their cargoes directly to England. But this indulgence being oppoſed by the commercial cities of England, on a ſubſequent motion for the houſe to reſolve itſelf into a committee, the miniſter declared himſelf adverſe to the meaſure, and it was finally loſt by a majority of four voices.

A third motion by Mr. Fox, "for the removal of the earl of Sandwich from his majeſty's perſon and councils for ever, was negatived by 221 voices to 118. The Howes, impatient of the obloquy thrown upon them by the partiſans of the court, had earneſtly ſolicited a parliamentary enquiry into their conduct in America; to which the miniſter at length very reluctantly aſſented. A multitude of papers were in conſequence laid upon the table; and the houſe reſolving itſelf into a committee of enquiry, lord Cornwallis, ſir Charles Gray, ſir Guy Carleton, and various other officers of high reputation who had ſerved in America, were examined at the bar of the houſe; and the reſult of a long and tedious inveſtigation was in general, "That the force ſent to America was at no time equal to the ſubjugation of that continent; that the people of America were almoſt unanimous in their enmity and reſiſtance to Great Britain; that the nature of the country was beyond any other difficult and impracticable for military operations; and that there was no fairer proſpect of ſucceſs, in any ſubſequent attempt at conqueſt, than in thoſe which had been already made." On the 29th of June 1779, the committee was ſuddenly diſſolved without coming to a ſingle reſolution on any part of the buſineſs.

In the houſe of lords, the earl of Briſtol moved an addreſs to the king, ſimilar to that of Mr. Fox, for the removal of the earl of Sandwich. His lordſhip ſupported this motion in a ſpeech, containing a very extenſive diſplay of political and profeſſional knowledge. This nobleman affirmed, "that about ſeven millions more money had been allotted for the ſupport and increaſe of our navy during the laſt ſeven years, than in any former equal period; and that, during this time, the decreaſe and decline of the navy had been in an inverſe ratio to the exceſs of the expenditure. While ſuch has been the unbounded liberality of parliament; what, exclaimed the noble lord, is become of our navy? or, if there is no navy, what is become of our money?" The motion was rejected by 78 voices to 39. Notwithſtanding theſe repeated acquittals, the reputation of lord Sandwich ſuffered not a little, by this ſucceſſion of attacks, in the eſtimation of the public. A ſhort time before the prorogation, a royal meſſage was ſomewhat unexpectedly delivered to both houſes, on a ſubject of the higheſt importance, informing them, that a manifeſto had been preſented to his majeſty by the count d'Almodovar, ambaſſador of the king of Spain, containing a declaration of hoſtility on the part of the Catholic king, who had in conſequence ordered his ambaſſador to depart without taking leave. The diſcloſure of this alarming event, ſo long predicted by the minority, called forth all their powers of eloquence and invective. The miniſters were reminded of this ſubject—of the contempt with which they had treated every warning of danger—and of their repeated and triumphant declarations "that Spain could have no intereſt in joining our enemies—Spain had colonies of her own, and would not ſet ſo bad an example as to afford aid or ſuccor to our rebellious colonies. The honor, ſincerity, and fidelity of the court of Spain were held up as ſacred, and thus were parliament and the nation kept in a conſtant ſtate of deluſion until they were awakened from their dream by the imminence of the impending ruin." The addreſs, however, containing the fulleſt aſſurances of ſupport, was unanimouſly agreed to. But a ſubſequent motion of lord John Cavendiſh, for the withdrawment of the troops from America, was evaded by a queſtion of adjournment.

In conſequence of the acknowledged neceſſity of new and unprecedented exertions, a plan was formed by the miniſter for augmenting the militia to double the actual number: and a bill for that purpoſe paſſed the commons without difficulty, but met with an unexpected oppoſition with the lords, and on a diviſion the compulſory clauſe was thrown out by a majority of 39 to 22 voices; the lord preſident lord Gower, and both the ſecretaries of ſtate, giving their voices againſt it. A ſolitary proviſion for raiſing

ſing volunteer companies only remained; and in this ſtate it was returned to the commons, to the great chagrin of the miniſter, who openly complained of the deſertion of his colleagues in office; nor was his mortification leſſened by the taunts of the oppoſition, who remarked, that the diſunion and diſcord which the adminiſtration had been the means of ſpreading throughout the empire, had now ſeized the cabinet, and was equally viſible amongſt themſelves.

On the 3d of July the king cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which his majeſty mentioned it as a happy omen of the ſucceſs of his arms, that the increaſe of difficulties ſeemed only to augment the courage and conſtancy of the nation. The memorial of count d'Almodovar, and a long juſtificatory maniſeſto, ſubſequently publiſhed by the court of Madrid, were filled with heavy complaints of the conduct of the Engliſh court for ſeveral years paſt, though certainly grounded on no ſolid reaſon; the king of England truly affirming in his meſſage to parliament, "That with regard to Spain he had nothing to reproach himſelf with; and that his deſire to cultivate peace and amity with that power had been uniform and ſincere." The court of Madrid pretended, that the inſults and *incredible violences* offered to the Spaniſh traders by England from the year 1776 to the beginning of the preſent year 1779, were no leſs than 86 in number, ſince which other inſults and injuries had been offered; ſo that the whole amount aroſe to the preciſe and full complement of one hundred. The only circumſtance really important and intereſting in this ſingular maniſeſto, is the diſcovery that the mediation of Spain had been offered and accepted by Great Britain and France ſoon after the commencement of hoſtilities, and that a negotiation between theſe two courts had been actually carried on for the ſpace of eight months.

On the 14th of September, immediately ſubſequent to the arrival of the count d'Almodovar in London, lord Weymouth declared to his excellency, that the king of England moſt ſincerely deſired to terminate the preſent war, by the mediation of his catholic majeſty. In conſequence of which, the king of Spain, after much diſcuſſion, propoſed a general truce for a term of years, in order to allow time for the final accommodation of differences. In his ultimatum of the 3d of April 1778, he offered the city of Madrid for the holding of a general congreſs for this purpoſe, to which the colonies ſhould be admitted to ſend commiſſioners, and in the mean time to be treated as an independent power; and that a general diſarming ſhould take place within one month in Europe, and four months in America; his Catholic majeſty offering at the ſame time his guarantee of the definitive treaty. The manifeſto ſtates, " That the court of London objected to recognizing the independency of America during the continuance of the truce; and it forcibly urges, as a thing very extraordinary, and even ridiculous, that the miniſter, lord North, had, notwithſtanding this objection, propoſed in the Engliſh houſe of commons, that the congreſs ſhould be treated with as the plenipotentiaries of independent ſtates, on the very proviſo ſuggeſted by Spain, that this conceſſion ſhould not be underſtood to preclude the ſubſequent poſſible relinquiſhment of that independency. The convention of Saratoga, the cartel ſettled for the exchange of priſoners, the nomination of commiſſioners to *ſupplicate* the Americans for peace at their own doors, are, it is aſſerted, real and unequivocal acknowledgements of the independency of America. The Engliſh nation itſelf is appealed to by his Catholic majeſty: ' whether theſe acts are more conſonant with the dignity of the Britiſh crown, than would be the granting, at the interceſſion of his Catholic majeſty, a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities for the adjuſtment of differences, and the treating them in this interval as independent ſtates.'

ſtates.' Nevertheleſs the Engliſh court poſitively refuſed, as the manifeſto proceeds to affirm, its aſſent to the propoſitions contained in this ultimatum; declaring, moreover, that France ſhould not interfere in the arrangement of the intereſts of thoſe ſhe *affects* to call her allies: and, in fine, the Engliſh court had the *effrontery* to ſay, that the drift of Spain was to form, from the pretenſions of the colonies to independence, one common cauſe with them and with France. On the contrary, his Catholic majeſty declares, that theſe laſt propoſals were not even communicated to France before they were tranſmitted to the court of London; ſo that the haughty expreſſions of the Engliſh miniſtry amount merely to this concluſion, 'that in ſpite of the overture made by themſelves, they prefer war to peace, or a treaty under the mediation of the Catholic king, whom they *provokingly inſulted*, treating him as partial, inconſiſtent, and leagued with the enemies of Great Britain; notwithſtanding which his Catholic majeſty did not iſſue orders for repriſals, but in conſequence of the actual commencement of hoſtilities on the part of Great Britain." Upon the whole it is evident, from the explicit and curious detail of the whole negotiation given in this manifeſto, clothed as it is in the ſtately language of Caſtilian pride, tinctured with abſurdity, that Spain acted in this buſineſs with generoſity, openneſs, and honor. It was undoubtedly determined by both branches of the houſe of Bourbon, to eſtabliſh the permanent independency of America; but this SPAIN at leaſt wiſhed to effect without involving herſelf in a war with England; and the expedient ſuggeſted by his Catholic majeſty was certainly the wiſeſt and beſt which in preſent circumſtances could be adopted; but the pride of the Engliſh court was not yet ſufficiently humbled to aſſent to the emancipation of America, though the idea of ſubjugation became every day more palpably chimerical and extravagant.

During the receſs of parliament, the earl of Stormont, late ambaſſador at Paris, was made ſecretary of ſtate in the room of the earl of Suffolk deceaſed. The earl of Weymouth a ſecond time reſigned the ſeals of the ſouthern department, which were transferred to the earl of Hillſborough; and earl Bathurſt, late chancellor of Great Britain, was nominated preſident of the council, in the room of earl Gower. The great ſeal had been conſigned, in the courſe of the preceding year, to the attorney-general Thurlow, created baron Thurlow, a man endowed by nature with uncommon talents, which were concealed, and in effect loſt to the world, under an almoſt impervious veil of moroſeneſs, bigotry, and malevolence.

The ſtate of affairs on the other ſide of the Atlantic once more demands our attention. The reduction of Georgia by general Prevoſt and colonel Campbell, though in itſelf of no great importance, excited juſt alarm in the inhabitants of the Carolinas, which were protected only by their own militia, and an inconſiderable body of continental troops under the command of general Lincoln, who lay encamped at Puriſburg, on the north ſide of the river Savannah, about twenty miles above the town of that name. At the end of April 1779, this officer left that advantageous poſition, which enabled him effectually to cover the province, and marched along the banks of the river to Auguſta, where he expected to be joined by powerful reinforcements; and he hoped, by paſſing the river, to cut off the communication of general Prevoſt with the back country, whence he received his ſupplies. But general Prevoſt was no ſooner appriſed of this movement, than he determined to paſs the Savannah at Puriſburg, and make a rapid march towards Charleſtown. This, the ſmall force left by general Lincoln to guard the paſſage of the Savannah was not able to prevent; and the Engliſh army, conſiſting of about 4000 men, including Indians, arrived in the vicinity of that city on the 11th of May.

To the chagrin of the Engliſh general, he found the place ſtrongly fortified and well ſecured by the numerous militia which had now collected for its defence. After ſummoning the city in vain to ſurrender, he determined, on hearing that general Lincoln was on his march back to Carolina, to decamp that very night, and took poſt, after ſome *detours*, in the iſland of Port Royal, to the ſouth of Charleſtown harbor. In the mean time Sir Henry Clinton was engaged, in conformity to the policy of the Engliſh court, whence he derived his inſtructions, in various predatory expeditions. Sir George Collier and general Matthew, in a deſcent upon Virginia, burnt the town of Suffolk, and deſtroyed the veſſels, proviſions and ſtores found there, and at Goſport, Jenner's Creek, and various other places in that quarter. Sir H. Clinton in perſon proceeded up the North River, and carried, by great exertions of gallantry, the two important poſts of Stoney Point and Verplanks, which the Americans had diligently fortified to preſerve the communication between the eaſtern and weſtern colonies. Another expedition under Sir George Collier, governor Tryon commanding the land forces, was projected nearly at the ſame time againſt Newhaven in Connecticut, which they plundered, and afterwards proceeded to Fairfield and Norwalk, which they laid in aſhes; and alſo the buildings and farm-houſes to the compaſs of two miles round. At the ſame time a proclamation was iſſued by them, declaring "the exiſtence of a ſingle houſe on the coaſt to be a ſtriking monument of Britiſh mercy." A far more important enterpriſe was next undertaken by the ſame officer, for the relief of a fortreſs lately conſtructed at the mouth of the river Penobſcot, in the eaſtern confines of New England, and garriſoned by a detachment of king's troops from Nova Scotia. This poſt had been for ſome time cloſely inveſted by an armament of conſiderable force from Boſton, which was attacked lying in the river and almoſt entirely deſtroyed by Sir George Collier, who took two frigates of twenty and eighteen guns, the remainder to the amount of ſeventeen veſſels being ſtranded and burnt. The ſuperior weight of metal on the part of the Engliſh commodore, who hoiſted his broad pennant on board the Raiſonnable, of 64 guns, and whoſe whole ſquadron conſiſted of ſix ſhips only, far more than counterbalanced the ſuperiority of numbers on the part of the enemy. On the other hand, the Americans were not without their ſucceſſes. After the capture of Stoney Point and Verplanks by the Engliſh, no pains were ſpared to make them impregnable to the attacks of the enemy; notwithſtanding which, a plan was formed by the American general Wayne, for the ſurpriſal of this poſt, which was carried into execution with great reſolution on the night of the 15th of July. Neither the deep moraſs in front of the lines, the double rows of abattis, or the inceſſant and tremendous fire from the batteries, could damp the ardor of the troops, who, attacking with fixed bayonets, carried the works with reſiſtleſs intrepidity. The clemency of the conquerors was no leſs conſpicuous than their bravery; for though they had repeatedly been refuſed quarter in ſimilar ſituations, the lives of more than 500 men, who threw down their arms, were generouſly granted.

In a few days, another Britiſh poſt at Paulus Hook was ſurpriſed in a ſimilar manner; but a better defence being made, the Americans, after ſtorming two redoubts, were repulſed, and obliged to retire, not however without carrying off with them near 200 priſoners.

In the Weſt Indies, ſoon after the defeat of D'Eſtaing, at St. Lucie, admiral Barrington was joined by Admiral Byron; and the Engliſh fleet being now ſuperior to that of the French, endeavors were uſed to force the enemy to a general engagement; but they choſe, rather than encounter this riſque to remain inactive in the harbor of Fort Royal. Admiral Byron, however, deeming it expedient to convoy the trade ſhips collected at St. Chriſtopher's pher's in June, part of their voyage; count d'Eſtaing took the opportunity of detaching a conſiderable force to the iſland of St. Vincent, which ſurrendered, though garriſoned by ſeven companies of regular troops, without firing a ſhot. This is aſcribed to the dread entertained of an inſurrection of the Caribbs, who ſtill entertained a deep reſentment of the injuries they had ſuſtained. The French commander, being now joined by a large reinforcement of ſhips and troops, ſailed with twenty-ſix ſhips of the line from Fort Royal, in the beginning of July, and ſteered his courſe to the Iſland of Grenada, which, though bravely defended by the governor lord Macartney, was compelled in a ſhort time to ſurrender at diſcretion. Admiral Byron on his return, receiving intelligence of the capture of St. Vincent's, immediately determined to make an effort for its recovery; but, on his paſſage thither, heard the ſtill more unwelcome tidings of the attack of Grenada, of which he now reſolved to attempt the relief.

On the 6th of July the two fleets came in ſight; but the French, having already effected their purpoſe, were little inclined, notwithſtanding their preſent ſuperiority, to riſque a cloſe engagement. A warm but indeciſive action enſued between the van diviſions of the two fleets, in the courſe of which the Engliſh diſcovered to their aſtoniſhment the French colors flying on the fortreſs of St. George. In the reſult, the Engliſh fleet bore away for Antigua, and the French returned to Grenada.

Count d'Eſtaing being fully informed of the critical ſituation of the ſouthern provinces of America, now, unexpectedly directing his courſe to Georgia, made an eaſy capture of the Experiment of 50 guns with ſupplies of various kinds on board for Savannah, and three other frigates, which he fell in with on his way.

On the 9th of September, he anchored off the mouth of the Savannah, to which general Prevoſt had again retired, and ſent a haughty ſummons to that officer to ſurrender to the arms of his moſt chriſtian majeſty; to which a ſpirited anſwer was returned. The ſucceeding day, count d'Eſtaing being joined by general Lincoln, a regular ſiege commenced, which was ſuſtained with great vigor by general Prevoſt, aſſiſted by the maſterly exertions of colonel Moncrieff, the chief engineer. At length the French commander, being impatient at the ſlow progreſs made in the ſiege, determined upon a general aſſault; and after a heavy cannonade, the allies advanced to the attack of the Britiſh lines on the morning of the 9th of October. They were every where repulſed with heroic valor. Count d'Eſtaing himſelf being wounded in the action, and the troops having ſuſtained great loſs, the ſiege was converted into a blockade, and in a few days entirely raiſed. A precipitate retreat was made by the Americans, and the count retired to the Weſt Indies; whence he quickly returned to France, much chagrined at the final diſappointment of the vaſt hopes and projects which he had originally formed.

Sir Henry Clinton, alarmed at the intelligence of the arrival of the French fleet on the coaſt, and expecting an attack on New York, had ſent orders to general Pigott for the evacuation of Rhode Iſland, of which the Engliſh had now been in poſſeſſion three years. But on being fully certified that the French fleet had departed for the Weſt Indies, he reſumed the project which he had formed of a grand expedition againſt South Carolina. On the 26th of December 1779, Sir Henry Clinton ſailed with the greater part of the army from New York, under convoy of a fleet commanded by admiral Arbuthnot; and after a tedious and unproſperous voyage, in which much miſchief was done, through the tempeſtuouſneſs of the weather, to the tranſports and victuallers, the armament arrived off Charleſtown bar, which the men of war paſſed with ſome difficulty on the 20th of March (1780), the water riſing only nineteen feet in high ſpring tides. On the 1ſt of April the Britiſh troops broke ground at the diſtance of about eleven hundred yards in front of the American lines; which, though no more than field works, the Engliſh general, willing to ſpare the effuſion of blood, treated with the reſpectful homage of three parallels—and made his advances with great circumſpection. It does not appear that any conſiderable exertions were made by the Americans for the relief of this important place, though defended by general Lincoln in perſon with a ſufficiently numerous garriſon; which, if the inhabitants had not ſhewn an inſuperable reluctance to abandon the town, might probably with more advantage have taken the field in conjunction with the expected reinforcements. The ſecond parallel being completed on the 20th of April, it was thought expedient to propoſe terms of capitulation, on condition of the garriſon being allowed to withdraw; but this condition was rejected by the Engliſh general without heſitation. In a few days the third parallel being carried within one hundred and fifty yards of the American lines, and preparations being made for a general aſſault; general Lincoln, on being informed by the engineers that the lines were no longer defenſible, ſeeing no proſpect of relief, and the fleſh proviſions remaining in ſtore not being ſufficient to furniſh rations for a week, conſented to deliver up the city on the terms originally propoſed by Sir Henry Clinton; in conſequence of which about ſix thouſand men, conſiſting of continental troops, militia, and ſailors, became priſoners of war. This event took place on May 4th. 1780. During the ſiege colonel Tarleton, who commanded a legion of cavalry, particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the activity and ſucceſs of his enterpriſes.

The capital having ſurrendered, the next object was to ſecure the general ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants: to this end, a large body of troops under lord Cornwallis marched over the Santee, towards that frontier which borders upon the moſt populous parts of North Carolina. This movement cauſed an immediate retreat of ſuch corps as had been there collected for the relief of Charleſtown. One of theſe was unexpectedly attacked and ſurrounded by Tarleton's legion, which had marched one hundred and five miles in fifty-four hours. A very feeble reſiſtance was made, and by far the greater part immediately threw down their arms, and begged for quarter: but a few continuing to fire, the Britiſh cavalry were ordered to charge and a terrible ſlaughter was made amongſt the unarmed and unreſiſting Americans; and from this time *Tarleton's quarter* became proverbial. Soon after this Sir Henry Clinton returned to New York, leaving the command in Carolina to lord Cornwallis.

During theſe tranſactions in America much alarm had been created in England by the junction of the fleets of France and Spain, which took place very ſoon after the delivery of the Spaniſh manifeſto. In Auguſt 1779, they entered the channel to the amount of ſixty-five ſhips of the line, accompanied by a cloud of frigates, ſloops, and fireſhips. The Engliſh fleet, commanded by Sir Charles Hardy, who had received no inſtructions to prevent this formidable junction, being utterly unable to encounter ſo prodigious a force, was compelled to retire to the narrow part of the channel, whilſt the flags of France and Spain menaced the Engliſh coaſts without moleſtation or control. Plymouth was, by the unaccountable negligence of the miniſters, left ſo entirely deſtitute of the means of defence, that the docks and ſhipping in the harbor might have been deſtroyed without difficulty. Fortunately this was not known to the confederate commanders; and on the approach of the equinox count d'Orvilliers ſteered his courſe back to Breſt, without effecting any thing farther than the capture of the Ardent man of war, which had accidentally fallen in with the combined fleets. But the moſt remarkable conſequence reſulting from the appearance of this vaſt armament in the Britiſh ſeas, was the extraordinary vigor and reſolution with which it ſuddenly inſpired the inhabitants of the kingdom of Ireland, who had hitherto contented themſelves with feeble lamentations and unavailing complaints. Seeing themſelves in a manner abandoned by England, their troops withdrawn, their commerce unprotected, their grievances unredreſſed, military and mercantile aſſociations began every where to be formed; and in a ſhort time, to the aſtoniſhment of the world, an army of fifty thouſand volunteers, as if by magic, was created, diſciplined, and equipped; and reſolutions almoſt univerſally paſſed againſt the uſe of Britiſh manufactures.

The Engliſh miniſters, whoſe fears and apprehenſions on this occaſion happily ſupplied their deficiency in juſtice and liberality, inſtead of oppoſing this national rage, furniſhed the new raiſed army with arms from the royal magazines; and thus gave a ſanction to a meaſure which had been adopted without any regard to their conſent or approbation. The Iriſh parliament met on the 12th of October, and to the uſual addreſs brought forward by the courtiers, an amendment was moved, and adopted by a great majority, to inſert in the body of the addreſs the following words—"We beg leave humbly to repreſent to your majeſty, that it is not by temporary expedients, but by a FREE TRADE, that this nation is now to be ſaved from impending ruin." In this the lords concurred, and the addreſſes were carried up to the lord lieutenant with great parade amidſt the acclamations of the people—the duke of Leinſter who commanded the Dublin volunteers, eſcorting the ſpeaker in perſon, while the ſtreets were lined with the different military companies on both ſides from the parliament houſe to the caſtle.

The thanks of both houſes were unanimouſly voted to the volunteer corps throughout the kingdom, for their patriotic exertions; and a ſix months money bill paſſed the commons, in order to prevent a ſudden prorogation.

Before we inveſtigate the conſequences of this new and alarming ſpirit, it may be proper to notice a farther occaſion of miſunderſtanding between the courts of London and the Hague, from an encounter which took place in the courſe of the preſent ſummer between Sir Richard Pearſon of the Serapis man of war, accompanied by the Scarborough frigate, having under their convoy the trade from the Baltic, and captain Paul Jones, an adventurer of deſperate fortune and deſperate courage, who was commander of a ſmall American ſquadron, which had for ſome time paſt infeſted the Britiſh ſeas. After a very fierce and bloody action, both the Serapis and the Scarborough, the convoy being firſt ſecured, were compelled to ſtrike their colors, and were carried by the captors to the Texel. On this a very ſtrong memorial was preſented to the States General by Sir Joſeph Yorke, who urged in the moſt preſſing terms, "that thoſe ſhips and their crews may be ſtopped and delivered up, which the *pirate* Paul Jones, who is a rebel ſubject, and a criminal of the ſtate, has taken." But their high mightineſſes anſwered, "that they will in no reſpect whatever pretend to judge of the legality or illegality of the actions of thoſe who have on the open ſeas taken any veſſels which do not belong to this country, and bring them into any ports of the republic; and that they are not authorized to paſs judgment either on thoſe prizes, or on the perſon of Paul Jones." This was an anſwer hard of digeſtion to the Engliſh court, and which indeed clearly indicated the partiality of the republic to the cauſe of America; but the quarrel between the two countries, though evidently growing more and more ſerious, was not yet ſufficiently matured for an actual rupture.

Very early intelligence of the war with France having been ſent by expreſs over land to India, the city of Pondicherry was inveſted by the troops of the company and of the government, in the autumn of the preſent year; and, after a gallant reſiſtance by M. de Bellecombe, the governor, it ſurrendered to the arms of his Britannic majeſty. On the other hand, the ſettlement of Senegal, and the Britiſh forts on the river Gambia, were captured by a French ſquadron under M. de Lauzun.

END OF VOL. I.